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## LIST OF AUTHORS.

*N.B.—The Numbers to which an asterisk is added are those of Reviews of Books.*

- ADAM, LEONHARD, 9, 173\*.  
 AITKEN, BARBARA, 52.  
 AIYAPPAN, A., 57.
- BANKS, M. M., 65.  
 BATESON, GREGORY, 199.  
 BEASLEY, H. G., 76, 126, 161.  
 BELL, F. L. S., 20, 90.  
 BENTON, SYLVIA, 205\*.  
 BLAGDEN, C. O., 47\*, 152\*, 214.  
 BRAUNHOLTZ, H. J., 58.  
 BRELSFORD, VERNON, 53.  
 BROWNE, FRANK, 4.  
 BURCHELL, J. P. T., 25.  
 BURKITT, M. C., 79\*, 134\*, 176\*.  
 BUTTER, J., 182.  
 BUXTON, L. H. DUDLEY, 12\*, 117\*, 120\*.
- CAPART, JEAN, 216.  
 CATON-THOMPSON, G., 75.  
 CHILDE, V. GORDON, 78\*, 98\*, 206\*.  
 CLARK, W. E. LE GROS, 2, 31\*, 119\*.  
 CODRINGTON, K. DE B., 70, 142.  
 COLLINGS, H. D., 124.  
 COLLUM, V. C. C., 64.  
 COOK, S. A., 30\*.  
 CORBIAU, SIMONE, 159.  
 COX, IAN, 169\*.  
 CULWICK, A. T., 39, 105.  
 CULWICK, G. M., 105, 185.
- DAVIES, OLIVER, 91.  
 DIGBY, ADRIAN, 51, 168\*.  
 DREW, A. B. V., 61\*, 149\*, 191\*.  
 DRIBERG, J. H., 110.  
 DURHAM, M. E., 19, 66, 102.  
 DUYVIS, GUDA E. G., 44.
- ENGLEHEART, GEORGE, 131.  
 EVANS, E. E., 80\*.  
 EVANS-PRITCHARD, E. E., 7, 62\*, 63\*, 155\*.
- FIRTH, RAYMOND, 208\*.  
 FLEURE, H. J., 13\*, 27, 99\*, 101\*.  
 FORTUNE, R. F., 150\*.  
 FOX, SIR CYRIL, 153\*.  
 FRY, H. K., 114.
- GANN, T., 1.  
 GATES, R. RUGGLES, 36.  
 GLANERT, L., 196.  
 GOODWIN, A. J. H., 34, 67.  
 GORDON, D. H., 49, 85, 129, 160, 194.  
 GUPTA, C. C. DAS, 104.
- HARRISON, H. S., 118\*, 192\*.  
 HASLUCK, MARGARET, 125.  
 HATCHELL, G. W., 73.  
 HEARD, G., 59.  
 HEMP, W. J., 17.  
 HERSKOVITS, MELVILLE J., 162.  
 HERTZ, A., 3.  
 HOBSON, R. L., 29.  
 HOCART, A. M., 23, 127, 164, 209\*.  
 HOPWOOD, A. TINDELL, 128.  
 HORNBLLOWER, G. D., 84, 135\*, 195.  
 HORNELL, J., 198.  
 HUNTINGFORD, G. W. B., 24, 158.  
 HUTTON, J. H., 16.
- JOSEF, BYRON, 109.  
 JOYCE, T. A., 108.
- KEITH, SIR ARTHUR, 187.  
 KEMP, P., 14\*.  
 KUNTZ, MARTHE, 203.
- LAKE, H. COOTE, 179\*, 197.  
 LAYARD, JOHN, 10.  
 LEAHY, MICHAEL J., 202.  
 LINDGREN, MISS E. J., 42.  
 LONG, RICHARD C. E., 15\*, 170\*, 171\*.  
 LOWE, C. VAN RIET, 107.
- MACFARLANE, MRS. EILEEN J., 41.  
 MACKLIN, R. W., 72.  
 MADAN, A. G., 5.  
 MAIR, L. P., 71.  
 MATTHEWS, Z. K., 26.  
 MEEK, C. K., 139\*, 140\*, 188\*.  
 MILES, G. P. L., 201.  
 MILLS, J. P., 94, 144.  
 MOIR, J. REID, 25, 43, 89, 211.  
 MOND, SIR ROBERT, 215.  
 MORANT, G. M., 27, 37, 45\*, 100\*.  
 MORRIS, C. J., 8.
- MUNN, LEONARD, 103.  
 MURRAY, G. W., 21.  
 MURRAY, M. A., 174\*.  
 MYERS, OLIVER H., 215.  
 MYRES, JOHN L., 69, 121\*, 122\*, 136\*, 137\*, 138\*, 148, 156\*, 157\*, 174\*, 207\*.
- NADEL, S. F., 113, 143.  
 NEWBERRY, P. E., 131.
- PALMER, SIR H. R., 141\*.  
 PARKINSON, JOHN, 163.  
 PARRY, T. WILSON, 55.  
 PEATE, IORWERTH C., 33, 88, 180.  
 PEERS, SIR CHARLES, 40.  
 PIDDINGTON, RALPH, 186.  
 PIERIS, J. F., 111.  
 PITT-RIVERS, G., 93.
- RADCLIFFE-BROWN, A. R., 48.  
 RAGHAVAN, M. D., 112, 165.  
 RAGLAN, LORD, 50, 68, 81\*, 82\*, 151\*, 184, 212.  
 RICHARDS, AUDREY I., 32.  
 RICKARD, T. A., 217.  
 RIES, MAURICE, 213.  
 ROBINSON, A. E., 74, 181.  
 RÖHEIM, GÉZA, 193.  
 ROSE, H. J., 154\*.  
 RYDÉN, STIG, 183.
- SAYCE, R. U., 83\*, 177\*.  
 SCHOFIELD, J. F., 22.  
 SHROPSHIRE, DENYS, 123.  
 SMITH, E. W., 11\*, 132.  
 SMITH, G. L. ELLIOT, 106.  
 STEPHENS, G. A., 35.
- TABB, W. E., 189\*.  
 THOMPSON, J. ERIC, 29.  
 TILDESLEY, M. L., 56, 115.  
 TRIBE, W. B., 54.  
 TURNEY-HIGH, HARRY, 200.
- UNWIN, J. D., 38, 178\*.
- WARD, J. S. M., 86.  
 WELLS, L. H., 92.  
 WERNER, A., 190\*.  
 WHITEHILL, W. M., 18.  
 WILD, R. P., 6, 145.  
 WILLIAMS, F. E., 46\*.  
 WILLIAMS, O. G., 130.
- YOUNG, T. CULLEN, 87, 175\*.

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# CONTENTS.

## ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

	No.
<b>Africa :</b> The "Best Friend" among the Didinga. J. H. DRIBERG ... ..	110
<b>Technology.</b> African Bark Canoes. ( <i>With Plate M.</i> ) JAMES HORNELL ... ..	198
Ornamental Motifs from Bantu Pottery. L. H. WELLS ... ..	92
<b>Africa : East.</b> The Genealogy of the Orkoik of Nandi. G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD ... ..	24
A Pogoro Flute. ( <i>Illustrations.</i> ) A. T. CULWICK ... ..	39
The Stone Cairns of Northern Kenya. JOHN PARKENSON ... ..	163
Totemism among the Baganda. L. P. MAIR ... ..	71
Village Organization among the Sukuma. O. G. WILLIAMS ... ..	130
<b>Sudan :</b> Bee-hive Graves (Nawamis) in the North-Eastern Sudan and Sinai. ( <i>With Plate B and illustrations.</i> ) G. W. MURRAY ... ..	21
Throwing-swords and Knives from the Sudan. ( <i>With illustrations.</i> ) ARTHUR E. ROBINSON ... ..	74
<b>Tanganyika :</b> The Angoni of Tanganyika Territory. ( <i>With Sketch Map.</i> ) G. W. HATCHELL ... ..	73
The installation (Kusamwa) of the Chief of Uha. W. B. TRIBE ... ..	54
<b>Technology.</b> Pottery among the Wabena of Ulanga, Tanganyika Territory. Mrs. G. M. CULWICK ... ..	185
<b>Africa, South : Archaeology.</b> The Ancient Monuments Act (1934) of the Union of South Africa. SIR CHARLES PEERS ... ..	40
The In-Tonjane Ceremony, as observed in Fingoland. FRANK BROWNLEE ... ..	4
Zimbabwe : "The Ancient Ruins Company Limited." J. F. SCHOFIELD ... ..	22
<b>Rhodesia : Magic.</b> A Bambwela Purification Rite. VERNON BRELSFORD ... ..	53
<b>Africa : West.</b> An ancient pot from Tarkwa, Gold Coast. ( <i>With illustrations.</i> ) R. P. WILD ... ..	145
Bone Dagger and Sheath from Obuasi, Ashanti. ( <i>With illustration.</i> ) CAPT. R. P. WILD... ..	6
The King's Hangmen : a judicial organization in Central Nigeria. ( <i>With Plate I—J.</i> ) S. F. NADEL ... ..	143
<b>Gambia : Genealogy.</b> Queens and Kings of Niumi. R. W. MACKLIN ... ..	72
<b>America : North.</b> A memorial figure of a Haida Shaman. ( <i>With Plate H.</i> ) H. G. BEASLEY ... ..	126
An Eskimo Harpoon Rest from Alaska. ( <i>With Plate D.</i> ) ADRIAN DIGBY ... ..	51
<b>America, South : Technology.</b> Notes on a knitting technique from the Tukuna Indians, Brazil. ( <i>With Plate L and illustrations.</i> ) STIG RYDÉN ... ..	183
<b>Anthropology : Cultural.</b> Cultural Anthropology and Statistics : a one-sided review of "Sex and Culture." DR. G. M. MORANT ... ..	37
Reply to Dr. Morant's "Cultural Anthropology and Statistics." DR. J. D. UNWIN ... ..	38
<b>Anthropology : Physical.</b> Eskimo Blood Groups and Physiognomy. ( <i>With Plate C.</i> ) PROF. R. RUGGLES GATES, F.R.S. ... ..	36
Man's place among the Primates. PROF. W. E. LE GROS CLARK ... ..	2
The Ovingdean prehistoric skull exhibiting double primitive surgical holing. ( <i>With illustration.</i> ) T. WILSON PARRY... ..	55
M. L. TILDESLEY ... ..	56
<b>Archæology :</b> Antimony Bronze in Central Europe. OLIVER DAVIES, M.A. ... ..	91
Notes on pleistocene stratigraphy. A. TINDELL HOPWOOD, D.Sc., and M. C. BURKITT, M.A. ... ..	128
Ornamental motifs common in Upper Palæolithic and Bronze Age Times. ( <i>With illustrations.</i> ) J. P. T. BURCHELL and J. REID MOIR ... ..	25
<b>Pottery :</b> The Problem of Palæolithic Pottery. J. REID MOIR ... ..	89
<b>Pottery :</b> The painted vases of Balreji and their prehistoric affinities. ( <i>With illustrations.</i> ) A. HERTZ ... ..	3
<b>Britain : Archaeology.</b>	
Wales : A Welsh Wassail Bowl : with a note on the Mari Lwyd. ( <i>With Plate F.</i> ) IOWERTH C. PEATE ... ..	88
Wiltshire : Scarabs. Two scarabs found in Wiltshire. ( <i>With illustrations.</i> ) GEORGE ENGLEHEART and PROF. NEWBERRY ... ..	131
<b>Ceylon : Folklore.</b> The Myth of the "Naga Meru Ale." J. F. PIERIS ... ..	111
<b>Magic.</b> The Demon of puerperal sepsis in wild Ceylon. BYRON JOSEF ... ..	109

	No.
<b>India :</b> The Effect of Ritual upon Industries and Arts in the Naga Hills. J. P. MILLS ... ..	144
Classical and Indian Iconography. ( <i>With Plate E.</i> ) K. DE B. CODRINGTON ... ..	70
The Problem of Early Indian Terracottas. MAJ. D. H. GORDON ... ..	129
<b>Technology.</b> The Fire-Piston in South India. ( <i>With illustrations.</i> ) M. D. RAGHAVAN ... ..	112
The Gourd-form in Pottery. ( <i>With illustrations.</i> ) M. D. RAGHAVAN ... ..	165
<b>Melanesia.</b> The Divination of Sorcery in Melanesia. ( <i>With illustrations.</i> ) F. L. S. BELL, M.A. ... ..	90
<b>New Guinea.</b> A carved wooden statuette from the Sepik River, New Guinea. ( <i>With Plate K.</i> ) H. G. BEASLEY ... ..	161
<b>Oceania : Technology.</b> Fijian Breastplates in the Torquay Museum. ( <i>With illustrations.</i> ) A. G. MADAN ... ..	5
<b>Pacific.</b> Forehead Ornaments from the Solomon Islands. ( <i>With Plate G and illustrations.</i> ) T. A. JOYCE, M.A. ... ..	108
<b>Papua : Archæology.</b> A Stone Pestle and Mortar from the Upper Ramu River. ( <i>With illustration.</i> ) G. P. L. MILES ... ..	201
<b>Sociology :</b> Blood Brotherhood. A. M. HOCART ... ..	127
Covenants. A. M. HOCART ... ..	164
Culture Contact and Schismogenesis. GREGORY BATESON ... ..	199
Initiation and Manhood. A. M. HOCART ... ..	23
Is the Savage a Scientist : RT. HON. LORD RAGLAN ... ..	184
Diffusion of the Horse to the Flat-heads. HARRY TURNER-HIGH ... ..	200
A Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation. PROF. MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS ... ..	162
<b>Spain : Archæology.</b> Modern Slab Burials in Northern Castile. ( <i>With illustrations.</i> ) BARBARA AITKEN ... ..	52
<b>West Indies : Archæology.</b> Two Chert Implements from the South-east Coasts of Jamaica. ( <i>With Plate A.</i> ) T. GANN and THEODORE D. McCOWN ... ..	1

## REVIEWS.

<b>Africa.</b> Brookes, Edgar H. <i>The Colour Problems of South Africa.</i> EDWIN W. SMITH ... ..	11
Brown, G. Gordon, and Hutt, A. McD. Bruce. <i>Anthropology in Action.</i> C. K. MEEK ... ..	188
Caton-Thompson, G., and Gardner, E. W. <i>The Desert Fayum.</i> M. C. BURKITT ... ..	134
Eyre-Smith, Capt. St. J. <i>A Brief Review of the History and Social Organisations of the Peoples of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast.</i> H. R. PALMER ... ..	141
Germann, Dr. Paul. <i>Die Völkerstämme im Norden von Liberia.</i> W. E. TABB ... ..	189
Himmelheber, Hans. <i>Negerkünstler.</i> AGNES DREW ... ..	191
Leiris, Michel. <i>L'Afrique Fantôme.</i> E. E. EVANS PRITCHARD ... ..	63
Luttig, H. G. <i>The Religious System and Social Organization of the Herero.</i> T. C. Y. ... ..	175
Sadler, Sir Michael. <i>The Arts of West Africa.</i> A. B. V. DREW ... ..	61
Seligman, C. G. <i>Egypt and Negro Africa : A Study in Divine Kingship.</i> C. K. MEEK ... ..	140
Tessmann, Dr. Phil. Gunter. <i>Die Bafia und die Kultur der Mittelkamerun-Bantu.</i> A. W. ... ..	190
<i>The Uganda Journal</i> , Vol. I, Nos. 1 and 2. E. E. EVANS PRITCHARD ... ..	62
Wellesley, Dorothy. <i>Sir George Goldie, Founder of Nigeria.</i> J. L. M. ... ..	122
Wieschhoff, Heinz. <i>Die Afrikanischen Trommeln und ihre ausserafrikanischen Beziehungen.</i> H. S. HARRISON ... ..	192
<b>America, Central.</b> Linné, S. <i>Archæological Researches at Teotihuacan, Mexico.</i> ADRIAN DIGBY ... ..	168
Lothrop, Samuel Kirkland. <i>Atitlan : An Archæological Study of Ancient Remains on the Borders of Lake Atitlan, Guatemala.</i> RICHARD C. E. LONG ... ..	171
Marett, R. H. K. <i>Archæological Tours from Mexico City.</i> RICHARD C. E. LONG ... ..	15
<b>America, South.</b> Baldus, Herbert. <i>Indianerstudien im Nordöstlichen Chaco.</i> LEONHARD ADAM ... ..	172
<b>Anthropology : General.</b> Haddon, A. C. <i>A History of Anthropology.</i> H. J. F. ... ..	101
<b>Anthropology : Physical.</b> Breitingner, Emil. <i>Körperform und sportliche Leistung jugendlicher Körpermasse, sportliche Leistungen und deren korrelative Abhängigkeit bei 3319 Schülern Münchener höheren Lehranstalten.</i> G. M. MORANT ... ..	100
Clark, W. E. Le Gros. <i>Early Forerunners of Man : A Morphological Study of the Evolutionary Origin of the Primates.</i> G. M. MORANT ... ..	45
Gregory, W. K. <i>Man's Place among the Anthropoids.</i> W. E. LE GROS CLARK ... ..	31
Leakey, L. S. B. <i>Adam's Ancestors.</i> W. E. LE GROS CLARK ... ..	119
Murdock, George Peter. <i>Our Primitive Contemporaries.</i> H. J. F. ... ..	99
Wagenseil, F. <i>Rassiale, soziale und körperbauliche Untersuchungen an Chinesen.</i> L. H. D. B. ... ..	120
<b>Race.</b> Schütte, Gudmund. <i>Our Forefathers : the Gothonic Nations. Vol. II.</i> L. H. D. B. ... ..	12
Montandon, George. <i>La Race, Les Races.</i> H. J. F. ... ..	13
Tisserand, Roger. <i>La Vie d'un Peuple : L'Ukraine.</i> P. K. ... ..	14
<b>Sex.</b> Westermarck, Edward. <i>Three Essays on Sex and Marriage.</i> LORD RAGLAN ... ..	81
Besterman, T. <i>Men against Women : A Study of Sexual Relations.</i> LORD RAGLAN ... ..	81
Unwin, J. D. <i>Sexual Regulations and Human Behaviour.</i> R. U. SAYCE ... ..	83

	No.
<b>Archæology.</b> Åberg, Nils. <i>Bronzezeitliche und früheisenzeitliche Chronologie : I-IV.</i> V. GORDON CHILDE ...	78
Birket-Smith, Kaj. <i>Geographical Notes on the Barren Grounds.</i> IAN COX ...	169
Breuil, Henri. <i>Les Peintures rupestres schématiques de la Péninsule Ibérique : II-IV.</i> M. C. BURKITT ...	79
<i>Contributions to American Archæology.</i> Vol. II. RICHARD C. E. LONG ...	170
Doering, Heinrich. <i>Altperuanische Gefäßmalereien.</i> H. S. HARRISON ...	118
Eyre. <i>European Civilization : Its Origin and Development.</i> Vol. I. <i>Prehistoric Man and Earliest Known Societies.</i> V. GORDON CHILDE ...	98
Garstang, John. <i>The Heritage of Solomon : An Historical Introduction to the Sociology of Ancient Palestine.</i> S. A. COOK ...	30
<i>Iraq.</i> Vol. I, 1933. J. L. M. ...	138
Lavachery, H. A. <i>Les Arts Anciens d'Amérique au Musée Archéologique de Madrid.</i> H. S. HARRISON ...	118
Mackay, Ernest. <i>The Indus Civilization.</i> V. G. C. ...	206
Mallowan, M. E. L., and Cruickshank-Rose, J. <i>Prehistoric Assyria : the Excavations at Tall Arpachiyah, 1933.</i> J. L. MYRES ...	207
Mond, Sir Robert and Myers, Oliver. <i>The Bucheum.</i> M. A. MURRAY ...	174
Pendlebury, John. <i>Tell el-Amarna.</i> G. D. H. ...	135
Petrie, Sir Flinders. <i>Measures and Weights.</i> J. L. M. ...	137
Wilcox, H. A. (Mrs. G. S. Treleven). <i>The Woodlands and Marshlands of England.</i> CYRIL FOX ...	153
<b>Congress.</b> <i>Verhandlungen des XXIV Internationalen Amerikanisten-Kongresses, Hamburg, 7-13 September, 1930.</i> J. L. M. ...	173
<b>Fiji.</b> Henderson, G. C. <i>The Journal of Thomas Williams.</i> A. M. HOCART ...	209
<b>Linguistics.</b> Bargery, G. P. <i>A Hausa-English Dictionary and English-Hausa Vocabulary.</i> C. K. MEEK ...	139
Vossler, Karl. <i>The Spirit of Language in Civilization.</i> C. O. BLAGDEN ...	152
<b>Malta.</b> Ugolini, Luigi M. <i>Malta, Origini della Civiltà Mediterranea.</i> SYLVIA BENTON ...	205
<b>Miscellaneous.</b> Barlow, Nora. <i>Charles Darwin's Diary of the Voyage of H.M.S. Beagle.</i> J. L. M. ...	121
im Thurn, Sir Everard. <i>Thoughts, Talks and Tramps : A Collection of Papers.</i> J. L. MYRES ...	156
<b>Religion.</b> Murray, M. A. <i>The God of the Witches.</i> R. U. S. ...	177
Newberry, John Strong. <i>The Rainbow Bridge : A Study of Paganism.</i> H. J. ROSE ...	154
Reschke, Heinz. <i>Linguistische Untersuchung der Mythologie und Initiation in New Guinea.</i> J. L. M. ...	210
<b>Sociology.</b> Cairns, Huntington. <i>Law and the Social Sciences.</i> A. B. V. DREW ...	149
Dewar, Douglas. <i>Difficulties of the Evolution Theory.</i> J. L. M. ...	157
Evans, J. M. <i>Social and Psychological Aspects of Primitive Education.</i> DR. E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD ...	155
Frazer, Sir J. G. <i>Totemism and Exogamy. A Treatise on certain early forms of superstition and Society.</i> H. C. L. ...	179
Hogbin, H. Ian. <i>Law and Order in Polynesia.</i> F. E. W. ...	46
Huxley, Julian. <i>Scientific Research and Social Needs.</i> R. F. FORTUNE ...	150
Kennedy, Donald Gilbert. <i>Field Notes on the Culture of Vaitupu, Ellice Islands.</i> RAYMOND FIRTH ...	208
Kern, Fritz. <i>Die Anfänge der Weltgeschichte.</i> J. L. M. ...	136
Lely, E. H. F. van der. <i>De Mensch—Geest en Materie.</i> C. O. BLAGDEN ...	47
Peake, H. J. E. and Fleure, H. J. <i>The Corridors of Time.—VIII. The Horse and the Sword.</i> E. E. E. ...	80
Roheim, Géza. <i>The Riddle of the Sphinx ; or Human Origins.—</i> LORD RAGLAN ...	151
Schmidt, R. R. <i>Der Geist der Vorzeit.</i> M. C. B. ...	176
Wallis, Wilson D., and Willing, Malcolm M. <i>Readings in Sociology.</i> J. D. U. ...	178
<b>Technology.</b> Roth, H. Ling. <i>Studies in Primitive Looms.</i> L. H. D. B. ...	117

## PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

<b>Anthropometric Survey of Great Britain</b> ...	60
<b>British Association for the Advancement of Science, Norwich, 4-11</b> ...	167
<b>British Film Institute</b> ...	28
<b>Frederick Webb Hodge Anniversary Publication Fund</b> ...	204
<b>Gift of Cards of Physical Measurements. Professor and Mrs. Seligman</b> ...	147
<b>Dr. Haddon's Eightieth Birthday</b> ...	133
<b>Congresses.</b> International Congress of the History of Religions : Sixth Session ...	96
International Congress of Orientalists : Nineteenth Session ...	95
Second International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences, Oslo, 1936 ...	166
International Congress for the Scientific Investigation of Population Problems ...	116
International (European) Folk Dance Festival, London, 15-20 July, 1935 ...	148

**Royal Anthropological Institute.**

<b>Ordinary Meetings.</b> Exogamous Rules among the Nuer. Dr. E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD ... ..	No. 7
The Country and Peoples of Nepal. Major C. J. MORRIS ... ..	8
Some Characteristic Legal Institutions of Nepal. Dr. LEONHARD ADAM ... ..	9
The Labyrinth in the Megalithic Areas of Malekula, the Deccan, Scandinavia and Scotland : with special reference to the Malekulan geometric drawings collected by Deacon. JOHN LAYARD ... ..	10
The Tribal Spirit among Educated South Africans. Z. K. MATTHEWS ... ..	26
Hill Tribes and Fisherfolk of Travancore. Mrs. EILEEN J. MACFARLANE ... ..	41
The Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria. Miss E. J. LINDGREN ... ..	42
The Age of the Pre-Crag Flint Implements. J. REID MOIR ... ..	43
The Problem of the Primitive Tribes in India. A. AIYAPPAN ... ..	57
The Worora Tribe of North-west Australia. H. J. BRAUNHOLTZ ... ..	58
Stonehenge and its Problems. GERALD HEARD ... ..	59
A Revision of Recent Research upon some Stone Age Problems in North Africa. Rivers Memorial Lecture. G. CATON THOMPSON ... ..	75
Notes on Red Feather Money from Santa Cruz, New Hebrides. H. G. BEASLEY ... ..	76
Ethnogenics—the Science of Anthropology. Capt. G. PITT-RIVERS ... ..	93
The Rengma Nagas—a Split Tribe. J. P. MILLS ... ..	94
'Gunu', a Fertility Cult of the Nupe in Northern Nigeria. Dr. S. F. NADEL ... ..	113
Native Life in Central Australia. Dr. H. K. FRY ... ..	114
What do we know of Africa? Rev. E. W. SMITH ... ..	132
Exhibition of the Art of Primitive Peoples ... ..	146
The Religious System of an Australian Tribe. Dr. RALPH PIDDINGTON ... ..	186
Stone Age Peoples of the Mount Hagen Area. MICHAEL J. LEAHY ... ..	202
The Iron Workers of the Kwanga Tribe. Mlle. MARTHE KUNTZ ... ..	203
<b>Research Meetings.</b> African Group. Handbook of African Tribes ... ..	77
Human Biology. A Discussion on Methods of Description and Analysis in the Anthropometric Study of European Populations. Professor H. J. FLEURE and Dr. G. M. MORANT ... ..	27
Craniometry and Human Intelligence. Dr. R. J. A. BERRY ... ..	115

**CORRESPONDENCE.**

<b>African Pedigrees.</b> LORD RAGLAN ... ..	50
G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD ... ..	158
<b>Age of the Cromer Forest Bed.</b> J. REID MOIR ... ..	211
<b>Amuletic Hand.</b> G. D. HORNBLOWER ... ..	84
<b>Ancient Amazonite.</b> D. H. GORDON ... ..	49
<b>Beehive Graves and Moslem Domes.</b> ( <i>With illustrations.</i> ) JOHN L. MYRES ... ..	69
<b>Bow-stand or Trident?</b> AUDREY I. RICHARDS ... ..	32
T. CULLEN YOUNG ... ..	87
<b>Branched Iron Stands.</b> A. T. and G. M. CULWICK ... ..	105
<b>Bride Price in Albania.</b> M. E. DURHAM ... ..	102
<b>Chalcolithic Platinum.</b> ( <i>With illustrations.</i> ) T. A. RICKARD ... ..	217
<b>Cleopatra's Temple at Armant : A Request.</b> ROBERT MOND and OLIVER H. MYERS ... ..	215
<b>Cursing of Venizelos.</b> H. COOTE LAKE ... ..	197
<b>Domestication of Cattle.</b> G. D. HORNBLOWER ... ..	195
<b>Female Fertility Figures.</b> W. J. HEMP ... ..	17
V. C. C. COLLUM ... ..	64
Mrs. M. M. BANKS ... ..	65
C. C. DAS GUPTA ... ..	104
<b>Fertility door in Holland.</b> ( <i>Illustrated.</i> ) J. BUTLER ... ..	182
<b>Folk Park and Museum, New Barnet.</b> M. E. DURHAM ... ..	66
Father J. S. M. WARD ... ..	86
<b>Funeral Customs.</b> WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL ... ..	18
<b>Geometric Art.</b> F. L. S. BELL ... ..	20
<b>Indian and Babylonian Figurines.</b> ( <i>Illustrated.</i> ) Mlle. SIMONE CORBIAU ... ..	159
D. H. GORDON ... ..	160
<b>Indian Cave Paintings : A Correction.</b> Major D. H. GORDON ... ..	85
<b>Indian Census.</b> J. H. HUTTON ... ..	16
K. DE B. CODRINGTON ... ..	142

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## OBITUARIES.

[illegible]

## ERRATA.

P. 44, line 29. For Miss G. Lindgren *read* Miss E. J. Lindgren.

P. 53, lines 44, 45. For Tripe *read* Tribe.

## ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT.

*N.B.—Photographs, unless otherwise stated.*

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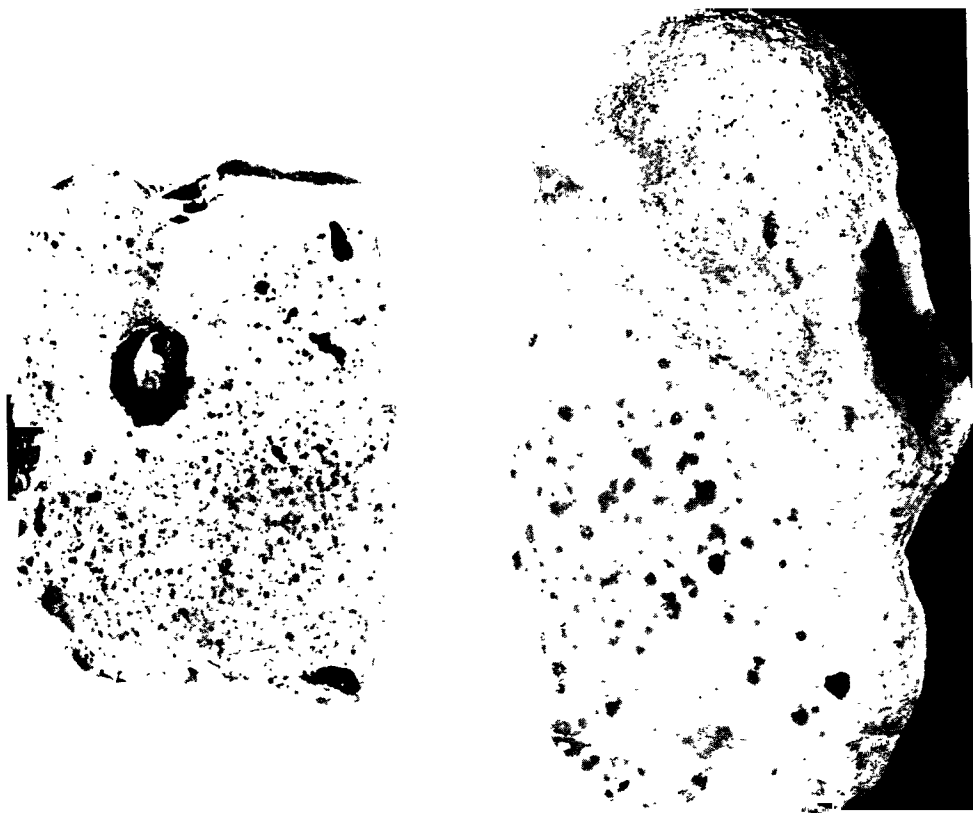
Diagram showing arrangement of stones in Slab-grave at Villanueva (Fig. 2) ( <i>drawing</i> ) ...	...	With No. 52
The Ovingdean Prehistoric Skull exhibiting double primitive surgical "holing" ...	...	" 55
Enfida Village, Tunis, with Cemetery and <i>Qubba</i> tombs (Fig. 1) ...	...	" 69
Saint's Tomb near Enfida-Ville Railway Station, Tunis (Fig. 2) ...	...	" 69
Sketch Map, Tanganyika Territory ...	...	" 73
Kassala Knife Handle made in hard block wood (Fig. A) ( <i>drawing</i> ) ...	...	" 74
Kassala Knife, tanged handle worn in sheath in belt (Fig. B) ( <i>drawing</i> ) ...	...	" 74
Riveted handled Knife or Dagger, Lake Zouai type, small size worn in a sheath on arm ( <i>drawing</i> ) ...	...	" 74
Kassala Arm Knife (Fig. D) ( <i>drawing</i> ) ...	...	" 74
Curved Ebony Camel Stick (Figs. E and F) ( <i>drawings</i> ) ...	...	" 74
"Kanyenda," Nyasaland chief sitting on his hereditary stool (Fig. 1) ...	...	" 87
<i>An Anon na Rinit.</i> Lit. "a fishing rod for the dead" (Fig. 1) ...	...	" 90
Small Tangan Grave-house (Fig. 2) ...	...	" 90
Ornamental Motifs from Bantu Pottery ...	...	" 91
Two Views of Forked Spear-rest ( <i>daguary</i> ) ...	...	" 106
Forehead Ornaments of White Shell over-laid with Turtle Shell—Solomon Islands (Figs. 1 and 2) ...	...	" 108
Bamboo Lime-box with engraved ornament San Cristoval (Fig. 3) ...	...	" 108
The engraved design, unrolled (Fig. 4) ( <i>drawing</i> ) ...	...	" 108
Fire-pistons of Iron from Adichanallur (Figs. 1—4) ( <i>drawings</i> ) ...	...	" 112
<i>Ngarawa.</i> Primitive Canoe seen on Pungwe River ( <i>drawing</i> ) ...	...	" 123
Forged Egyptian Scarabs found in Wiltshire (Figs. 1 and 2) ( <i>drawings</i> ) ...	...	" 131
A Clay Pot from Tarkwa, Gold Coast ( <i>a</i> ) Photograph, ( <i>b</i> ) Section ...	...	" 145
Indian and Babylonian Figurines (Figs. 1—3) ( <i>drawings</i> ) ...	...	" 159
Gourd type Pottery Vessels, A—E of Clay, F. Fibrous Core of a South Indian Gourd ...	...	" 165
Fertility Door in Holland ...	...	" 182
Knitting Techniques : Tukuna Indians, Brazil ( <i>drawings</i> ) ...	...	" 183
Ordinary Bena Pottery of the present day made from the lump (Fig. 1) ...	...	" 185
Recent innovations : 1, 2, 3. Pots made by coil-method ; 4, 5, 6. Copies of things used by non-natives (Fig. II) ...	...	" 185
1—5 Stages in Manufacture : 5—10 Implements used in making Wabena Pottery ...	...	" 185
Stone Pestle and Mortar, New Guinea (Fig. 1) ...	...	" 201
Pre-columbian Objects of Platinum (Figs. 1—5) ...	...	" 217

## DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES.

<b>Plates</b>		
A.	Chert Implements from Jamaica. Marine Terrace containing Chert Implements, Montego Bay, Jamaica ...	With No. 1
B.	Beehive Graves (Nawamis) in the North-eastern Sudan and Sinai. Fig. 1. The Halais "Beehive" Tombs. Fig. 2. Two Sinai Nawamis in the Wadi Solaf ...	" 21
C.	Eskimo Blood Groups and Physiognomy (Figs. 1—6) ...	" 36
D.	An Eskimo Harpoon-rest from Alaska ...	" 51
E.	Indian Figurines of Squatting Goddesses from Mathura and Kanarak (Figs. 1—4) ...	" 70
F.	Wassail-bowl, dated 1834, made at Ewenny, Glamorgan ...	" 88
G.	Hollow Wooden Figure of a Bonito Fish : Solomon Island ...	" 108
H.	Haida Memorial Figure : British Columbia ...	" 126
I—J.	The King's Hangmen in Central Nigeria. Landing-place at Gbere, one of the Ledu villages (Fig. 1). The "Chain of Tsoede" (Fig. 2). The Sacred Bronze Figures at Jebba (Fig. 3). Village chief with <i>égbé tsoede</i> (Fig. 4)...	" 143
K.	A Carved Wooden Statuette from the Sepik River, New Guinea ...	" 161
L.	Knitted Basket-work from the Tukuna Indians, Brazil ...	" 183
M.	Bark Canoes, Mozambique ...	" 198







CHERT IMPLEMENTS FROM JAMAICA.



MARINE TERRACE CONTAINING CHERT IMPLEMENTS  
MONTEGO BAY, JAMAICA.

# MAN

## A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

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### ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

#### West Indies : Archæology.

#### With Plate A.

#### Gann : McCown.

**Two Chert Implements from the South-East Coast of Jamaica.** *By Thomas Gann.*

While stopping at Montego Bay, Jamaica, in January 1933, I came across what appears to be a marine terrace, situated upon the sea shore some 15 miles west of Kingston. It consists of a stratum of sandy gravel varying from 1 to 2 ft. in thickness, mixed with some humus and capped by a layer of grass-covered sandy earth less than one inch thick. The marine terrace from which these implements were derived is, I consider, well worth a more thorough examination than the time at my disposal permitted me to make. It appears to be of comparatively recent formation, and is now undergoing a process of fairly rapid erosion by the sea, in the course of which considerable numbers of chert implements are exposed, which do not appear to be paralleled by those characteristic of the Cibonhey, Arawak, or Carib, the three pre-Columbian civilisations of the island.

The implements were washed out by sea erosion from the gravel layer and were found lying on the beach. On excavation in the gravel, other somewhat similar chert implements were found. Dr. Theodore D. McCown's report on the implements is as follows :

“ Objects : One quadrangular flake with indistinct bulb of percussion. 1 : 85 mm. ; W : 63 mm. ; thickness : C. 20 mm. Very rough and irregular secondary flaking on the two long edges and on the transverse short edge. Flaking blows mainly from the ventral surface. One semi-ovoid flake with indistinct bulb of percussion and remains of thick white cortex. 1 : 126 mm. ; W : 73 mm. ; thickness : C. 23 mm. Coarse secondary flaking along convex left edge. Flaking blows mainly delivered from ventral surface of flake.

“ Material : light brown white speckled chert, with remains of a fairly thick white cortex. Flakes evidently struck off nodules. Patination is very slight. There are traces of a calcareous (?) material adhering as a scale to both flakes and perhaps deposited by percolating ground-water.

“ Remarks : These are undoubtedly rough implements made on what are almost certainly large artificial flakes. Both show irregular but quite definite secondary flaking. The smoothness of general texture and lack of any sharp edges is due to some rolling and water-washing, although neither are ‘ rolled ’ in the true sense of that term. The first object was probably a scraping tool of some sort. The second implement is possibly a scraper, more probably a chopper or hacking implement. Both seem to be utility tools, as far as I can judge, and undoubtedly might be paralleled in many parts of the world from Paleolithic times onward.”

T. GANN.

#### Physical Anthropology.

#### Le Gros Clark.

**Man's Place among the Primates.** *By Professor W. E. Le Gros Clark, Oxford. A paper read at the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences.*

Controversy is always most acute where facts are fewest. In recent years our knowledge bearing on the evolution of man has accumulated in great quantities, but it is as yet inadequate to secure agreement on matters of detail. Hence the evolutionary history of man still remains a

controversial problem. Nevertheless, it is convenient, and, indeed, necessary, to review from time to time the evidence relating to this problem with the object of ascertaining how far we have advanced towards its ultimate solution and to what extent we are in agreement in the interpretation of the relevant facts of which we are now in possession.

That man is one of the evolutionary products of a particular group of placental mammals called Primates is accepted by all biologists. The progress of knowledge has long passed the stage at which the evidence for this conception requires to be stated at an anthropological congress. It is reasonably certain that placental mammals came into existence in the middle of the mesozoic period, and it is probable (as Dr. G. G. Simpson has shown) that they were derived from a group of Jurassic mammals known as the Pantotheria. It is also probable that in the Cretaceous period the ancestral or basal Primate stock became segregated from the generalized mammalian group which also gave rise to the other placental orders, and that from that time it entered upon an independent evolutionary history. The evidence suggests that one of the sub-orders of the Primates, the Lemuroidea, represented to-day by the lemurs, lorises, galagoes and pottos, branched off from the basal Primate stock at an extremely early stage, at least at the very beginning of the tertiary period. This group followed rather specialized trends of evolution which mark them off sharply from the other Primates. It is unlikely, indeed, that the Lemuroidea could have provided a basis for the evolutionary origin of the higher Primates, although some authorities believe this was the case. The remarkable thing is that in the later stages of their evolution some of the Lemuroidea became astonishingly monkey-like in many of their skeletal and dental characters. But these anthropoid features were superimposed on characteristically lemuroid specializations which were avoided in the true monkeys and, moreover, true monkeys are known to have come into existence at an earlier geological time. It is important, however, to note this manifestation of parallelism in the evolutionary history of the lemurs and monkeys, partly because it indicates that these two groups were derived from a common ancestral stock which endowed them with very similar evolutionary tendencies, the basal Primate stock, and partly because it illustrates a phenomenon which is now known to have been very common in organic evolution. Within the limits of the Lemuroidea, parallelism is instanced in a very striking fashion between the lemuriformes and lorisi-formes and between the fossil *Adapinae* and *Notharctinae*.

From the basal Primate stock there also arose another sub-order of the Primates, the Tarsioidea, represented to-day by one genus only, *Tarsius*. The evolutionary tendencies of this group approximated much more closely to those of the higher Primates, and it is not improbable that the latter arose from fossil tarsiods in Eocene times, perhaps from a group known as the *Microchoeridae*, in which certain features of the skull and dentition became remarkably pithecoïd. Nevertheless, the Tarsioidea as a whole were early characterized by peculiar specializations of their own, such as the enlargement of the orbits and the modification of the hind limbs for jumping. These specializations must certainly have led them off the main stem of evolution of the higher Primates, and the latter presumably took their origin from the earliest and most primitive members of the group. Again, we may note that at least some of the resemblances which the tarsiods show to the monkeys owe their origin to parallel evolution. This is probably the case with some of the features of the brain and skull, for instance.

The third sub-order of the Primates, the Anthropeidea, is represented by the Platyrrhine and Catarrhine monkeys, the Anthropomorphous Apes, and Man. The evidence at hand suggests that the monkeys diverged from the main stem of evolution which led to higher types very soon after the tarsioïd phase had been passed. It has been reasonably argued that the Old and New World monkeys may even have been derived independently from separate tarsioïd ancestors. It is at least certain, on morphological and physiological grounds, that these two pithecoïd groups have undergone a prolonged period of independent evolution, and the supposition is that they diverged at a time when the common ancestor was at least as primitive as the small marmosets. Yet in their skeletal, visceral and cerebral anatomy, the larger Platyrrhines and Catarrhines are astonishingly similar—the result, evidently, of parallel evolution.

Of all the Primates, the anthropomorphous apes stand nearest to Man structurally. There is no room for argument on this point. The accumulation of evidence in recent years has served to emphasize

the fact that in the sum of his anatomical characters, Man is closely approached only by the anthropoid apes. This leads to an *a priori* assumption that Man and the anthropoid apes have been derived, whether relatively late in geological time or relatively early, from a common ancestral stock. It is necessary to examine this assumption closely in order to test its validity. It may be argued, indeed it has been argued, that the resemblances between Man and the anthropoid apes are largely fortuitous, the result of parallel evolution. We have already noted that parallelism in the phylogenesis of the Primates is a common phenomenon, and it requires to be excluded before conclusions regarding systematic affinity can certainly be drawn. Granting that structurally Man is very closely akin to the anthropoid apes, is there any serious discrepancy or divergence in any of their anatomical characters which necessarily presupposes a polyphyletic origin from a common ancestor so distant and generalized that it would not come into the category of the Anthropomorpha? From the evidence at present available, there is no reason to believe that this was the case. A searching analysis of human morphology leads to the inevitable conclusion that in the structure and form of the brain, the skull, the dentition and other systems, the human stem must have passed through a phase of evolution in which it so closely resembled the known anthropoid apes that it is necessary to postulate an anthropomorph ancestry for modern Man. This is not to say, of course, that in the line of human descent there was ever a form which showed the characteristic specializations of the modern anthropoid apes such as the great elongation of the arms and the degeneration of the thumbs. It is certain that the earlier anthropomorphs were relatively generalized creatures in which the primitive proportions of the limbs were still retained, and yet, at the same time, they would have shown a grade of development of brain, skull, dentition, etc., which, without imposing any strain on commonly accepted definitions, would entitle them to be called 'anthropoid apes.' There is every reason to suppose that Man was initially derived from such a type. It is not possible here to enter into the detailed evidence for this statement. We may, however, refer to the evidence of foot structure, because some authorities have found it difficult to accept the thesis that the human foot has been derived from the kind of foot which is essentially typical of the Anthropomorpha. This question has been definitely settled, I think, by the studies of Dr. Morton in America. This author has shown that the great development of the inner border of the human foot, accompanied by hypertrophy of the big toe, can only be satisfactorily explained by supposing that at some phase in human phylogenesis the functional axis became transferred from its primitive position along the middle of the foot to its medial border. Such a displacement of the functional axis is characteristic of the anthropoid ape type of foot and is directly associated with an arboreal grasping function. Further, structural features of the foot of modern Man, such as the torsion of the shaft of the first metatarsal bone, the shape of its proximal articular facet, and the persistence of all the necessary musculature, provide convincing corroborative evidence of its derivation from a foot which was at one time used for grasping purposes.

The next question is—at what stage in the evolutionary differentiation of the Anthropomorpha did the human stem become segregated from that which led to the modern anthropoid apes? Let us consider first the evidence bearing on the origin of the Anthropomorpha. The mandible and lower dentition of the fossil *Parapithecus* of lower Oligocene age are regarded by most authorities as representing a small and very generalized member of the Anthropomorpha which may possibly have formed the basis for the evolutionary development of all the later types. In its general appearance this fragment recalls some of the features of the Tarsioidae. It therefore raises the possibility that the Anthropomorpha were derived directly from a tarsioid ancestry at the beginning of tertiary times. If this is so, the phylogenetic position of the Platyrrhine and Catarrhine monkeys requires consideration. These monkeys manifest a number of aberrant specializations which were avoided by the Anthropomorpha, and presumably separated from the main stem of the latter at an early stage. It may be deemed appropriate to extend the term Anthropomorpha to those forms which, originating directly from a tarsioid stock, preserved a relatively generalized structure which enabled them to progress towards the higher types represented by the anthropoid apes and Man. In this case, the Platyrrhine and Catarrhine monkeys are perhaps to be regarded as precocious and somewhat specialized offshoots of the anthropomorphous stock. Even so, the early Anthropomorpha must have passed through phases of evolution in which they exhibited a developmental status equivalent to that of the modern New

and Old World monkeys though avoiding their specializations. In this sense, it can be said that they passed through 'Platyrrhine' and 'Catarrhine' stages of phylogenesis.

Of the same geological age as *Parapithecus* is the fossil jaw of an anthropoid ape, *Propliopithecus*. So closely do the mandible and teeth of this animal resemble those of the modern gibbon that it is included in the same family, the Hylobatidae. Thus we have evidence that, at this early time, the anthropoid apes were already undergoing rapid differentiation. In Miocene times, large anthropoid apes were widespread, being represented by a number of genera of which the most important is the generalized form *Dryopithecus*. This genus is known from the remains of several species. Some of these, in their dentition, show a significant approach to the Hominidae and, as the extensive researches of Professor Gregory have proved, the human dentition was almost certainly derived from the *Dryopithecus* type. It is, in fact, generally conceived that Man arose in Miocene times from a *Dryopithecus* stock which also gave rise to the modern African anthropoid apes. This interpretation harmonizes satisfactorily with the general scheme of evolution suggested by Pleistocene forms of Man, such as *Pithecanthropus* and *Sinanthropus*, which in many ways provide a structural link between *Homo* and the anthropoid apes, and also by the close morphological resemblances between modern Man and the gorilla and chimpanzee. But there are other facts which indicate a rather different conception. The recent discoveries of Dr. Leakey suggest that modern types of Man were already in existence while *Pithecanthropus* and *Sinanthropus* were still living in the Far East. Again, Dr. Hopwood has described the remains of a fossil chimpanzee from the lower Miocene of East Africa which so closely resembled the modern chimpanzee that some authorities have doubted whether it can be distinguished generically. If chimpanzees were already differentiated in lower Miocene times, they could hardly have taken their origin in common with the human stem from a *Dryopithecus* group of Miocene age. This evidence suggests strongly that the human stem diverged from the line of evolution which led to the African apes at a much earlier time. There is some valuable anatomical evidence which bears directly on this question. I refer again to the studies of Dr. Morton on the foot structure, which seem to me to be of paramount importance. It is a matter of observation that in the large anthropoid apes the development of the powerful shoulders and long upper extremities and the weakening of the hind limbs lead to a shifting forwards of the centre of gravity of the body, so that when these animals attempt to adopt a terrestrial gait and balance themselves upon their hind limbs the weight of the body is transmitted forwards mainly to the fore part of the foot. This leads to a characteristic distortion of the anterior tarsal elements, and, in consequence, the foot becomes quite incapable of adaptation for true bipedal progression.

The distortion of the tarsal bones has been avoided in Man, in whom their proportions approach much more the generalized condition shown in the small gibbon. The larger an arboreal anthropoid ape becomes, the more impossible is it for the animal to adopt an erect posture on the ground because of the forward displacement of its centre of gravity, and the more impossible, therefore, is it for such a form to provide a basis for the evolution of Man. Morton has pointed out that the terrestrial posture in the modern large apes is a "semi-erect quadrupedalism, and not a semi-erect bipedalism." The inference follows that the progenitors of Man must have left the trees for a terrestrial habitat when they were still relatively small and agile creatures—hardly larger than the modern gibbon, that is to say, before sheer weight of body on an arboreal grasping type of foot had produced a distortion of its skeletal elements. There is corroborative evidence which suggests that the ancestors of Man forsook an arboreal habitat quite early. Prolonged arboreal existence in the case of the anthropoid apes has led to aberrant specializations, such as the extreme lengthening of the fore limbs, an atrophy of the thumb, and a shrinkage of the hind limbs. This is more than a mere change in the proportions of the limb segments. We may note, for instance, that one of the most important muscles of the thumb, the flexor longus pollicis, is greatly reduced or absent in most gorillas and orang-utans, and in a large percentage of chimpanzees. Such divergent modifications have been avoided by the human stock which, in this regard, preserves a more generalized and primitive condition. If these modifications are a necessary concomitant of brachiating habits—that is to say, using the arms for swinging from bough to bough—it is unlikely that the direct ancestors of Man practised brachiation to any great degree. It is probable, indeed, that the distinguishing human characters of the limbs are of much

more ancient origin than is generally thought to be the case. In the first place, this conclusion is in harmony with the palæontological evidence that the characteristic features of the limbs of the main groups of the Primates were acquired very early. The limbs of the Eocene lemurs were already remarkably similar to those of modern lemurs, even though the skull, dentition and brain of the former were still very primitive, while the tarsoids evidently began to acquire the peculiar modifications of their hind limbs in the early part of the Eocene. In the second place, it is very noteworthy that in the early types of Man represented by *Pithecanthropus* and *Sinanthropus*, in which the skull and brain were astonishingly ape-like in their general features, the few fragmentary remains available show that their limb structure was closely comparable or even identical with that of *Homo sapiens*. This is evidenced by the femur in the case of *Pithecanthropus*, and by the clavicle, radius, and semi-lunar bone in the Pekin fossil. These observations suggest strongly that in the evolution of Man the limbs attained to human proportions in advance of other parts of the body.

Now, if the human stem diverged from that leading to the great anthropoid apes at a stage when the common ancestor was still a comparatively small animal, it follows that many of the strikingly human characters of the large African apes which are directly related to their size, such as the details of the brain and skeleton, must owe their origin to parallel evolution. There is no reason why this should not be the case. It is recognized by some authorities that, in spite of their remarkable structural similarities, the Platyrrhine and Catarrhine monkeys may have had a diphyletic origin from separate tarsoid ancestors, or at least they have undergone a very long period of phylogenetic independence. Equivalent degrees of structural similarities between Man and the African apes need not therefore preclude the probability of their diphyletic origin from a stage of evolution represented approximately by the gibbon.

The supposition that the human stem may have become segregated from that leading to the gorilla and chimpanzee at a hylobatid rather than at a giant anthropoid level of phylogenesis demands serious attention. It harmonizes with the fact that the gibbon is the only animal which shows an erect bipedalism immediately comparable with that of Man, and this, after all, is one of the most distinctive attributes of the Hominidæ. It is perhaps not without significance, also, that the general cranial form of ancient types of Man, such as *Pithecanthropus* and *Sinanthropus*, recalls that of the gibbon rather than the large apes. Indeed, as is well known, it has even been suggested that *Pithecanthropus* was not a man at all, but a huge gibbon, and that it should be renamed *Hylobates giganteus*. Actually, the hominid status of this fossil is sufficiently attested by the characters of the brain and femur.

Turning now to the evidence of the fossil remains of Man, we may note that the most archaic types (structurally speaking) of the Hominidæ are represented by *Pithecanthropus*, *Sinanthropus* and *Eoanthropus*. In view of the discovery that a modern type of Man apparently existed in Africa very early in Pleistocene times, however, it may be doubted whether these other fossils bear any close relation to the evolutionary development of *Homo*. There is no doubt that Neanderthal Man has been rather misleading to students of human phylogeny. At first the ape-like characters of the skeleton of this extinct race suggested very strongly that it might represent somewhat of a transitional stage between *Homo sapiens* and an anthropomorph ancestor. It is now realized that it existed too late in geological time to fulfil this rôle and, moreover, in several features, such as the dentition and the development of the supraorbital torus, it is too specialized. In fact, the more recently acquired evidence indicates that the Neanderthal race arose comparatively late in Pleistocene times as a secondary retrogression from a stock much more akin to *Homo sapiens*. The Ehringsdorf skull, found in 1925, was associated with a culture which has been regarded as pre-Mousterian or Levalloisian. The Galilee skull is believed to be of approximately the same age. Hence, both these types are much older than, for instance, the well-known La Chapelle skull. Yet in some of their cranial characters, and especially the contour of the cranial vault, they are less distinctively 'Neanderthaloid' and approximate more nearly to *Homo sapiens*.

If modern types of Man came into existence so early as the beginning of the Pleistocene age, whence were they derived? It seems extremely probable that the direct ancestors of Man are to be found among the Miocene forms of *Dryopithecus*. If this is so, however, it is almost certain, for the reasons

advanced above, that the *Dryopithecine* line of evolution leading to Man had already at a considerably earlier time become distinct from the line leading to the modern large anthropoid apes. The remains of *Dryopithecus* are almost entirely limited to jaws and teeth, and it has been surmised that the skull of this genus was probably not unlike that of the African apes. Future discoveries may show, however, that in skull form and limb structure *Dryopithecus* manifested progressive characters foreshadowing to a much greater degree those of the Hominidæ. In this regard, we may take a warning from *Eoanthropus*. If the jaw only of this fossil had been found, it would certainly have been endowed in a reconstruction with a cranium closely resembling that of a chimpanzee. The only fragment of the lower extremity which has been ascribed to *Dryopithecus* is a femur from the lower Pliocene of Eppelsheim. Originally referred to *Dryopithecus rhenanus*, this bone has been shown to be very similar to the gibbon type of femur, and in order to accommodate it a new genus has been created, *Paidopithecus* or *Pliohylobates*. Karl Pearson has proved, however, that the owner of this thigh bone must have stood between the orang and chimpanzee in point of size. No gibbon of such a stature has ever been discovered. It seems reasonable to accept Schlosser's opinion that the Eppelsheim femur really belongs to *Dryopithecus*, especially as this authority showed that in its general contour it harmonizes so well with the humerus of *Dryopithecus fontani* described by Lartet. If this interpretation is correct, it indicates that *Dryopithecus* was much more adept in erect bipedalism than any of the large anthropoid apes of to-day. It lends further support, therefore, to the conception that the precursors of the gorilla and chimpanzee had set off on their own evolutionary adventures some considerable time before the *Dryopithecine* precursors of Man had come on to the scene.

W. E. LE GROS CLARK.

### Ancient East : Pottery.

Hertz.

The Painted Vases of Balreji and Their Prehistoric Affinities. By A. Hertz.

**3** In volume LX, 1930, pp. 127-135 of the *Journal* of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, I found an interesting article by Mr. E. Mackay, describing the modern painted pottery of Balreji, a small village mainly inhabited by Muhammedans and situated in Sind in the vicinity of the ancient site of Mohendjo Daro. According to Mr. Mackay there are many points of



FIG. 1. MODERN PAINTED POTTERY OF BALREJI.  
(*J.R.A.I.* LX. Plate I, fig. 4).

resemblance between these vases and the prehistoric decorated ware of Hither Asia: thus;—the substances used for the former are more or less found in the latter; the great jars of Balreji are made in three or four pieces, like those of Musyan II and Jemdet Nasr; the pottery blocks, used in modern Sind in the process of tapping the vases in order to remove imperfections after turning, occur at Harappa and in Northern Baluchistan. Again dish-like covers with an upward projecting knob playing some part in the painting of the pans were found in Mohendjo Daro and in Jemdet Nasr, etc. So far I completely agree with Mr. Mackay, but I cannot accept the following statement of his, p. 135:—

“With the exception of one or two  
“ motifs which seem to have been adopted  
“ by most of the makers of ancient painted

“ pottery, there is nothing distinctive in the designs on the painted pottery of Sind that is comparable  
“ with motifs on the painted pottery from Elam and Mesopotamia.”

Judging from the above photograph of the painted vases of Balreji, taken from *J.R.A.I.*, LX, plate I, fig. 4, there is a strong general resemblance between the ornaments on the pans from Balreji and the designs on the bowls of Susa I, and a close resemblance in the representation of the sun in the

pottery from both sites.<sup>1</sup> In Susa I (figs 3, 4), we have it represented by concentric circles with a cross in the middle, in Balreji, we also find a broad ring with a cross in the middle. The pan on the left of the Balreji collection is very interesting. Here, the broad ring in question is surrounded by five bundles of three crooked lines each meant, evidently, for sunrays.<sup>2</sup> It is nearly identical with the design on the vase, fig. 2. It is noteworthy that in both cases we have five bundles of three lines each, whereas in a similar pattern from Persepolis, a site probably older than Susa I, whose ceramic shows much affinity with that of Baluchistan, we have only three bundles of three lines each.

This pattern does not occur in later prehistoric sites; it is in my opinion highly distinctive and shows clearly the connection between Susa I and Balreji. But this is not all. We trace the influence of later strata of prehistoric Hither Asia on the painted pottery of modern Sind. Another pattern, I think distinctive, though Mr. Mackay evidently does not, the *metope*, is known not earlier than Musyan II and Jemdet Nasr. Just as old or even older are the implements used in Balreji which I mentioned above.

From those ancient times probably comes the footwheel, known actually in India only in Balreji and the Upper Punjab, but employed generally through the Near East: Iraq, Persia, and the shores of the Persian Gulf. I take the ancient origin of the footwheel for granted, for the more we gather knowledge about the oldest civilizations of the Near East, the more it becomes clear that nearly all technical progress, formerly ascribed to historic Hither Asia and Egypt, was achieved in prehistoric times. It suffices, I think, to mention here the dagger with iron blade found lately in one of the older strata of Tell Asmar which astonished everybody except me. Already, in 1930, I had ascribed to prehistoric Babylonia the use of worked iron.<sup>3</sup> I think, therefore, that the prehistoric peoples on the eastern and northern shores of the Persian Gulf, especially, perfected to the utmost the tools of the craft in which they particularly excelled, *viz.*, pottery. It is interesting to note that the burning of vases is carried out on more primitive lines in Balreji than in Jemdet Nasr, where regular pottery kilns were already used.

When we sum up the evidence, we come to the conclusion that direct or indirect connections must have existed between the ancestors of the Balreji potters and most of the old civilizations which successively occupied the soil of Mesopotamia and Elam. How this came about, and why, of all India, the Balreji villagers alone conserved the ancient art of vase painting, is impossible to tell. Personally I think that here, as in many other instances, the carriers of arts and knowledge between peoples were nomads. Consider the part which the Arabs played in the development of medieval Europe, bringing to the West not only the inventions and ideas of Asia, as, for instance, firearms from China, algebra from India, but also Greek science from the former Asiatic and African provinces of the Roman Empire.

There is still one more remarkable feature to note. At the last Historic Congress in Warsaw Professor Sčerbakivskij, of the Ukrainian University of Prague, told me that the patterns on the Ukrainian Easter eggs, which startlingly resembled the ceramic ornaments of Susa II, are always painted by women, the old ones teaching the young to execute them properly. As the tradition was so carefully preserved, that we note very little, if any, changes in the patterns, it seems unlikely that men should ever have painted the ornaments on eggs, or formerly on vases, and been later replaced by women.

Now Mr. Mackay affirms that the vase painting in Balreji is exclusively done by women. As the patterns in question proceed at least partly from Susa I, it seems as if all the elaborate proto-elamite designs were done by women. This hypothesis is in a certain measure confirmed by the prominent part women seem to have played in the political and religious life of the older civilizations of Hither Asia.<sup>4</sup>

A. HERTZ.

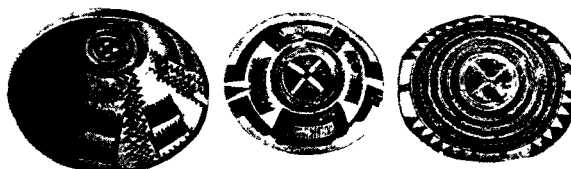


FIG. 2.

FIG. 3.

FIG. 4.

PAINTED POTTERY FROM SUSA I.

<sup>1</sup> From *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*. Vol. XIII, plate XIII, figs. 1 and 4.

<sup>2</sup> From *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*. Vol. XIII, plate II, fig. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Am. Hertz, 'Die Kultur um den Persischen Golf und Ihre Ausbreitung,' Leipzig, 1930. Pp. 30, 76, 86, 88, 94, 136.

<sup>4</sup> G. Contenau, *Manuel d'archéologie orientale*, I, p. 293.



**Africa : South.****Brownlee.**

**The In-Tonjane Ceremony, as observed in Fingoland.** By Frank Brownlee, Resident Magistrate, Matatiele, South Africa.

**4** As is generally known, the custom of *in-Tonjane* is one, according to which girls, reaching the age of puberty are required to undergo a period of seclusion, lasting from three to four months.

The term *in-Tonjane* is derived from the word *ukutomba*, the meaning of which is given by Kropf as "to put forth shoots, to sprout, to bud: of a girl, to menstruate for the first time." The budding of the young girl's breasts, coupled with menstruation, indicate fruitfulness and are a sign for great rejoicing. *In-Tonjane* is also the "name of a larval insect which encases itself in a tube made of "pieces of grass and lives among the grass" (Kropf). The girl during her period of seclusion is kept in a portion of a hut which is cut off from the rest of the building by a screen of grass—she is encased in grass as is the insect, which at the slightest alarm withdraws itself into its shield—so in a sense is it with the girl.

During the time of her seclusion the girl is supervised by the sisters of her grandfather, who would be elderly women and people of experience. If no such people are available, the sisters of the father of the girl would exercise the necessary supervision. Failing all these, other female relatives of the father might undertake the responsibilities—all relatives on the mother's side are at this time *tabu*, as are the girl's own father and mother, who may on no account enter the hut of seclusion or in any way come in contact with their daughter. The *in-Tonjane* may on no account whatsoever leave the hut during the daytime. Should it so happen that natural purposes make very great call, a vessel is provided for the purpose, and this is removed and emptied by those in attendance.

As has been stated, the custom is or should be observed at the time when the girl reaches the age of puberty, but it is often undergone at a much later stage. It is imperative that the custom be observed before marriage. If by any chance the girl's father has failed to see that the rite is observed, he is held responsible for any misfortune which may befall the girl after her marriage.

The ashes from the fireplace in the hut of seclusion are allowed to accumulate and are not removed till after the period has been completed, when they are taken and scattered in the wind. At the same time the grass screen and the mats that have been used by the *in-Tonjane* are burnt.

In an *in-Tonjane* hut that I visited, I found the floor strewn with rushes and grass. Upon enquiry, I was told that these had been placed there so that those in attendance upon the girl might sleep comfortably. I am satisfied that there is some deeper significance attached to this strewing of grass, but I have not up to the present been able to discover it. The grass and rushes are burnt after the hut is vacated. I rather think that the floor used originally to be covered with rush mats, which would require to be burnt, but in these days when mat rushes have become very scarce people cannot afford to have mats burned wholesale, so the floor is strewn with such grass and rushes as may be obtainable.

During the whole period of her isolation the girl is addressed as "*in-Tonjane*," her own name is never used.

While undergoing seclusion, the girl is examined by her father's elderly female relatives, who guarantee her virginity, which to them amounts to the fact that she has not had a child and that she is not pregnant. I have been informed that at one stage the girl's hymen is perforated by means of an ox horn, and that the same instrument is used for extending the *labia majora*, the idea being by this means to make intercourse more pleasurable, and fruitfulness more certain. I am at present unable to vouch for the accuracy of this information.

On a day arranged, to mark the termination of the period of seclusion, the friends and relatives of the girl and her parents assemble at the kraal concerned. With singing, dancing and signs of rejoicing, the girl is escorted to the *inkundla*—the open space in front of the huts—where the singing and dancing continues indefinitely. A beast is slaughtered, as propitiation to the spirits of the ancestors of the family. The blood of this beast is sprinkled on the left-hand gate-post of the entrance of the cattle kraal. This may be any beast and is not selected from *ubulunga* or other

sacred cattle. A goat is also slaughtered—any goat—and at one stage of the proceedings the gall of this goat is poured over the head of the *in-Tonjane* by one of her father's elderly female relatives, and here the initiation into womanhood is completed, though dancing and "rejoicing" may still continue for a day or two.

All the young girls of the neighbourhood dressed in their showiest beads and blankets gather at the kraal. The girls while dancing are naked down to the waist, and sometimes have nothing on except a small bead apron, *Nciyo*, which barely conceals the private parts. At one stage they dance before the older men, who criticize either favourably or otherwise the appearance of the girls, their remarks being decidedly candid and more than verging on the ribald. The *in-Tonjane* does not take part in the dances. After this the girls move off to the neighbourhood of the *in-Tonjane* hut, where the older women and young men join them in the dance. The men are quite naked except for a penis cap, *Ngriba*, which covers the *glans penis* only. While wearing this a man is considered to be dressed sufficiently to comply with all demands of decency.

The period of the celebrations is usually measured by the quantity of beer provided. As the beer diminishes so do the well-wishers dwindle away, and it is only the hardiest who remain to drink of the dregs, *intsipo*.

FRANK BROWNLEE.

### Oceania : Technology.

Madan.

**Fijian Breastplates in the Torquay Museum.** By A. G. Madan.

Whilst examining ethnographical material, which has been stored away for some years in the Torquay Museum, the writer came across a breastplate of whale's-tooth and pearl-shell (Fig. A). This breastplate, which measures approximately 8½ inches in diameter, was obtained in

5



FIG. A. FIJIAN BREASTPLATE.



FIG. B. FIJIAN BREASTPLATE.

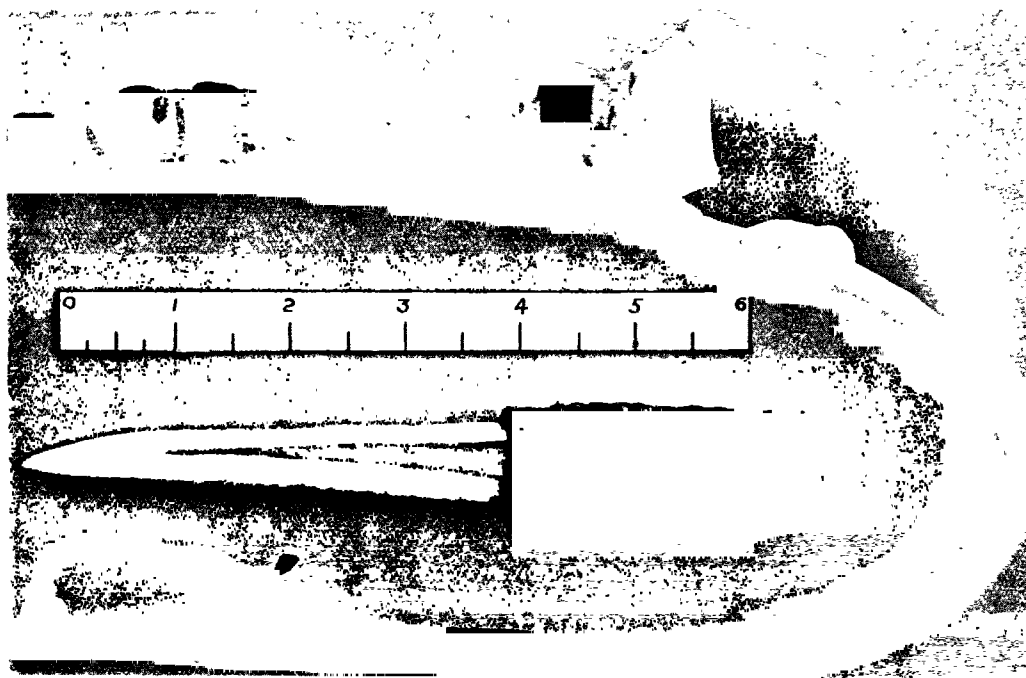
Fiji during the latter half of last century by the late Hon. C. R. Swayne, then a Governor's Commissioner for the Group. The pearl-shell is attached by primitive rivets.

Although by no means comparable to the larger breastplate (Fig. B) now on loan to the Museum, and suggesting perhaps by its various details that it was made for presentation to the Commissioner, it forms, however, quite a good example of native craftsmanship of none too recent date. A. G. MADAN.

**Africa: West.****Wild.**

**Bone Dagger and Sheath from Obuasi, Ashanti.** *By Capt. R. P. Wild, Inspector of Mines, Gold Coast Colony.*

**6** The thanks of the writer are due to Capt. O. F. Ross of the Ashanti Political Service, for his kindness in allowing the writer to retain the bone dagger and sheath which are described below. They were given by Capt. O. F. Ross to the writer in July, 1933.



BONE DAGGER SHEATH FROM OBUASI, ASHANTI.

The dagger and its sheath were exhibits in a criminal case of assault by stabbing, which came up for hearing before Capt. Ross, in his capacity of District Commissioner at Obuasi, Ashanti, some time about the years 1921 and 1922. The purpose of this object is therefore not in question. The accused, the owner of the dagger, was either a Moshi or a Wangara, tribes who inhabit the territories north of Ashanti.

Neither Capt. Ross nor many other persons besides the writer, conversant with this part of Africa, are able to recall a similar instance involving the use of bone as a weapon. All the daggers or stabbing instruments which have been noticed by them have been fashioned out of iron. The identification of the bone has not been ascertained because it would entail the removal of the leather pommel from the butt end, and thereby detract from the anthropological value of the weapon.

The length of the weapon is seven inches, with the first  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches of the butt covered with leather. The tip has been sharpened and smoothed to a stout point; whilst on one side a groove, broadening towards the butt, extends for nearly the whole length. It would appear that one of the limb bones of some animal had been split longitudinally, and in the process exposed the cylindrical hollow which contained the marrow. The leather composing the butt is probably sheep's or goat's skin and is folded over the bone and laced at the edges with thongs which seem to be sinew. The sheath, which is six inches in length, is also formed by folding over a strip of leather and lacing the edges in a similar manner. It is also strengthened at intervals by narrow bands of sinew which encircle it. The sheath and its appendages are also composed of leather sheep's or goat's skin. Another strip of leather about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length is secured at the top of the sheath to form a loop

through which a leather noose runs. Two knots are tied in this, on either side of the loop, which act as stops to prevent too great a movement through the loop. The noose itself consists of a narrow strip of leather, some two feet long, doubled over on itself and stitched together on the edges with some fibrous looking thread. The completion of the loop is carried out by a knob of leather at one end, being passed through a small loop on the other end.

An interesting point regarding this instrument lies in the method of wearing it. The noose is slung over the left shoulder and the dagger and sheath tucked under the left armpit. The upper arm being kept close to the side, keeps the weapon in position and also has the advantage of concealing its existence. By an easy motion of the right hand across the body, the dagger can be quickly extracted from its sheath and plunged into the victim.

It is possible that the use of a weapon of this type would be facilitated by the presence of the narrow cavity, for the latter would permit the outlet of air when the dagger was forced into a body.

For comparative purposes a reference to plate 26, Vol. LXII, 1933, of the *Journal* of the Royal Anthropological Institute will provide an illustration of bone implements somewhat similar in character, though in this case the leather sheath and its appendages are absent. In the text (p. 272) they are described by Mr. F. Turville-Petre as "borers or daggers" and were obtained during the excavations in the Mugharet-El-Kebarah.

The bone dagger, complete with sheath, has been deposited at the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford.  
R. P. WILD.

## ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE : PROCEEDINGS.

**Exogamous Rules among the Nuer.** *Summary of a Communication presented by Dr. E. E. Evans-Pritchard, 20th November, 1934.*

The Nuer word for incestuous relations is *rual* and the same word means syphilis, which **7** is the most frequent consequence of incest to both offenders and their kinsfolk. A Nuer man must observe the following rules:—

(1) He may not marry any woman to whom he is closely related genealogically; (2) If he is an adopted Dinka he may not marry into the lineage of his adopted father; (3) He may not marry his wife's sister or any close relative of his wife unless she has died childless; (4) He may not marry the daughter of an age-mate. It is also considered incestuous (5) if a man has sexual relations with wives of his father or of other close relatives during their lifetime; (6) if a man and a close male relative have sexual relations with the same woman: or if a woman and a close female relative have sexual relations with the same man. Breach of the different prohibitions is not equally serious, nor are the consequences uniformly severe. The consequences of incest can be prevented if a bullock or goat is cut in half in a certain manner. Some people possess magic which renders incest with more distantly related persons innocuous.

The lecturer then discussed the extent to which incest is committed, the central position of the mother in the ideology of incest, and the way in which Nuer define rules of exogamy and incest in terms of cattle. Finally, he considered what light is thrown by Nuer practice upon the nature of the clan and upon current theories of incest. He discussed the relations between incest rules and group cohesion, between incest rules and political structure, and incest rules as a means of defining and differentiating status.

**The Country and Peoples of Nepal.** *Summary of a Communication presented by Major C. J. Morris, 4th December, 1934.*

Nepal is situated on the Southern slopes of the central Himalaya, which mountains **8** separate it from Tibet. The country is unique in that within its borders are found every variety of climate from damp tropical heat to the dry cold of the summit of Mount Everest, the bulk of which is within Nepal. It naturally follows that the country contains also many different types of people, although all the inhabitants of Nepal are nowadays generally referred to as Gurkhas, a term which should rightly be confined to the descendants of the conquerors of the country, who came originally from the little hill-State of that name. The principal tribes of Nepal are the following: Thakur,

Chettri, Magar, Gurung, Rai, Limbu and Newar: but there are many more, too numerous for mention here. Most of these tribes are very Mongoloid in appearance and have many affinities with adjacent Tibet, although Hinduism is the official religion of the country. They are composed of a number of exogamous clans and kindreds, and there are several varieties of cross-cousin marriage; but this custom is not universal. Nepali is the *lingua franca* of the country, but many tribes also speak their own Tibeto-Burman dialects. The country, which is completely independent and forms no part of India, is entirely closed to foreigners, which includes also Indians, except at the personal invitation of the Maharaja. This permission is only very occasionally given and is generally confined to the Valley of Nepal, where is situated Kathmandu, the Capital. Apart from the fact that Nepal is politically secluded, the country is also naturally difficult to reach and has few communications: for these reasons it is perhaps one of the most promising fields for ethnological study on the Indian Continent.

**Some characteristic Legal Institutions of Nepal.** *Summary of a Communication by Dr. Leonhard Adam, 4th December, 1934.*

**9** I. The law of the various tribes of Nepal is comparatively little known. The main source is still Brian H. Hodgson's classical work *Miscellaneous Essays relating to Indian subjects* Vol. II (London, 1880). But Hodgson did no field work on tribal law in Nepal. Though he lived in the country many years he had no personal experience of the practical law as applied in the remote districts. He could only refer to experts in the country, educated men in the Nepalese sense of the term, whose detailed answers he noted. Among valuable details, there is almost complete lack of notes on civil law.

II. It was, then, an exciting event for German orientalisks when Gurkha soldiers were made prisoners on the West Front. Prof. *Heinrich Lüders*, and Prof. *Wilhelm Schulze*, were requested by the Prussian Academy of Sciences to study their languages and dialects, and Dr. Leonhard Adam was appointed in 1918 by the Prussian Minister of Justice, Dr. Peter Spahn, to record customs and tribal law and located in Roumania, where the climate and conditions were more suitable than in Germany.<sup>1</sup> Individual Gurkhas were carefully selected, who had spent a considerable part of their lifetime in the village where they were born and were really familiar with its inhabitants, their manners and customs. Individual intelligence was also important. But the only way to obtain trustworthy information is to persuade the man to talk about his own life, and personal experiences, and about the life of his relatives, friends, and neighbours.

The paper then dealt principally with the following topics:—

*Family Law*: (i) *Artificial Brotherhood*.—The description of the Gurkha *mīt* and *mītnī* (literally 'friend') in Major Morris' book *The Gurkhas* (London, 1928) is confirmed. This relationship, between men or women, has a religious basis, and initial ceremonial in presence of a Brahman or *bahun*, by exchange of personal belongings: establishing incest barrier, obligation to help, and other characteristics of natural kinship, including the fathers and mothers, *mīt bā* and *mīt āmā*. One witness stated that a man may become *mīt* of a woman, or one married couple with another. Difference of tribe, too, is no obstacle. Functionally the *mīt* bond strengthens intertribal intercourse.

(ii) *Remarriage of Widows*.—Sylvain Levi in 1898 found widows under Brahman influence in Nepal: but Major Morris' statement that widows may remarry though without the *byāhā* ceremony, is confirmed, and in the Army a remarried widow has a pension claim, *i.e.*, is no concubine.

*Law of Property, especially loans and securities*.—While in ancient Indian law actual possession of a security was required, this is unusual in Nepal. Money is lent in four different ways: (1) without written instrument or witness, if creditor thinks debtor trustworthy: default is here without remedy; (ii) with written agreement and a witness, the debtor promising to give specified security *dik* on default, in which event the creditor moves the *mukhiya* to order the *dik* to be surrendered; (iii) for larger amounts there is a second witness *gawahi* who signs the *damsuk* and guarantees the surrender of the *dik*; (iv) the creditor may require the debtor *bandā* to refund the debt by field work. Typically Nepalese is the promise of security in event of default: but under Indian influence unpaid debts haunt the debtor in his future existence, so that the merits of his sacrifices and prayers are set down to

<sup>1</sup> For the Indian camp in Morile-Marculesti, see L. Adam, MAN, 1934, 23.

his creditor. It is the syncretism of languages and religions in a Tibeto-Burmese stock with Indo-Aryan caste of conquerors, that makes Nepalese law so interesting. Art and religion confirm this. But ethnological jurists must recognize also an aboriginal population, the Newars, representative of Nepalese art and literature, and transmitters remarkable beliefs and institutions: e.g., the frog worship described by Waddell, *Indian Antiquary*, xxii (1893).

This communication appears in full in *Zeitschr. f. Vergl. Rechtswissenschaft*, xlix.

**The Labyrinth in the megalithic areas of Malekula, the Deccan, Scandinavia, and Scotland: with special reference to the Malekulan geometric drawings collected by Deacon.** *Summary of a Communication presented by John Layard, 11th December, 1934.* 10

A comparative study of designs in different areas cannot be undertaken fruitfully *in vacuo*. Similarities in design are often fortuitous and due to a multitude of independent or convergent processes. Such study can be prosecuted with usefulness and certainty only if the ideas underlying the designs, and the mythology connected with them, are also taken into consideration.

An examination of the geometric drawings collected in Malekula, Ambrim and Oba by the late Bernard Deacon and published in the current number of the *Journal* (J.R.A.I., lxiv, Pt. 1, 1934) together with others collected by Dr. Firth in Raga and by the speaker in Atchin, show that they are all based on two types: Class A composed of a continuous line having a definite beginning and end, meandering on a linear framework, and Class B composed of a continuous never-ending line enclosing a space. Evidence is brought forward showing the close connection existing between the megalithic culture of these islands with that of the Ancient East and Europe. The mortuary mythology connected with the Malekulan geometric drawings is then discussed, and the conclusion is drawn that the basic origin of Class A is the delineation of the path (the continuous line having beginning and end) traced when threading the mazes of the labyrinthine tomb (the linear framework), and that the basic origin of Class B is the human form representing the body of the dead king, Lord of the Underworld. The steps leading to the degradation and intermixture of these two types are discussed not only from the typological point of view but from the psychological, the various typological processes being intimately connected with the progressive degradation of belief and with the loss of exact mythological knowledge, and being conditioned by the attempt to reconcile what, through historical causes, had become apparent contradictions.

Reference is made to the maze-dances of Malekula and to certain elements in the decoration of mats as well as in tattooing, which are shown to be derived from the same source.

Similar designs drawn by women on the threshold of houses in the central megalithic area of the Deccan, and by tattooers and magicians show the same motives and include actual diagrams of mazes, undoubtedly connected with the true labyrinths constructed out of stone still extant in this area.

Reference is made to the megalithic labyrinths of Sweden, and to the labyrinthine designs on other megalithic monuments of Western Europe, demonstrating the close interconnexion existing between all these megalithic cultures: also to the "tangled-threid" designs still drawn by Scottish women on the thresholds of their homes.

Finally, the labyrinthine motive will be shown to be still living in the form and ritual of the Cross as practised in the Roman Church to-day.

## REVIEWS.

**The Colour Problems of South Africa.** By Edgar H. Brookes. (*Phelps-Stokes Lectures, Cape Town, 1933.*) London: Kegan Paul, 1934. 237 pp. Price 5s.

Dr. Brookes is known to students by his 'History of Native Policy in South Africa,' first published in 1923. He acknowledges that the march of events and the development of his own thought have altered his opinions in some respects. In the former work he argued in favour of segregation in a limited sense—some measure of it, he said, being "an essential to the solution of the Native problem."

Complete segregation he then declared to be "totally impracticable." He still holds this view; the "melancholy narrative" of legislation during the past twenty years only confirms it. Dr. Brookes now goes farther and declares (in italics) that any scheme of segregation considerable enough to affect vitally South Africa's political, economic and social life is impossible. What then? If the Africans within the Union are not to have restored to them much of the land that once was theirs, so that they can develop their own culture on their own lines, are they to be given equal opportunities with

Europeans to acquire the rights of citizenship? Is the land they now hold to be taken away and are the two peoples, with the coloured and Indian peoples, to merge into one nation, with equal rights for every civilized man? In other words, is the 'liberal' view to prevail over against the 'nationalist'? It is not easy to gather Dr. Brookes' opinion precisely. He sustains a vehement argument against 'nationalism,' he is against colour bars; he criticizes the laws which differentiate against the Africans, and calls for a moratorium on repressive legislation. But he is in favour of maintaining the existing Reserves 'for some time to come'; he approves the general recognition of Native law; he declares absolute freedom of economic competition to be 'not yet desirable'; elements of differentiation must continue, he thinks, to be included in Native policy; and he has a horror of miscegenation. He sums up his views in this sentence: "The ideal for South Africa would appear to be a policy by which every racial group would have full and free opportunity to develop." So that, in spite of what he says so insistently elsewhere, he still regards segregation as the ideal—for if Europeans, Africans, Indians and coloured are to develop fully as *racial groups*, what is this but segregation? How racial groups are to develop fully without being territorially segregated he does not explain. It appears that Dr. Brookes is really trying to build a half-way house: complete segregation he will not have (and, indeed, in face of the refusal to give up adequate land for occupation by Africans, it is impossible) and complete assimilation he will not have.

We welcome his chapter on 'The Anthropological Approach: its Value and its Dangers,' in which he shows himself to be a strong supporter of 'the newer school' which seeks to study problems of contact. He makes the valuable suggestion that students in South African universities should study the local locations, the relation between wages and slums, the exact nature of marriage among detribalized natives, and so on. "If, to the excellent work already accomplished, could be added new spheres of research, and a new outlook, so that the Bantu became less and less a race apart and Bantu studies less and less a sacred mystery, it would be all to the good."

Dr. Brookes does not mention the Protectorates. His critical description of the repressive policy adopted in the Union will not induce readers of this book to support any proposal to place under that régime the peoples of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland.

EDWIN W. SMITH.

#### Race.

**Our Forefathers: the Gothonic Nations: A Manual of the Ethnography of the Gothic, German, Dutch, Anglo-Saxon, Frisian and Scandinavian Peoples.** By Gudmund Schütte. Vol. II. Cambridge University Press, 1933. 6½ x 9¼. xii + 484 pp., maps. Price 30s.

This volume of an extremely important work deals with those branches of the 'Gothonic'-speaking peoples to which we ourselves belong, and other branches to which we are closely related. It includes the Goths, and their immediate congeners, the German, Dutch and

Saxons, and the Scandinavians. The general scheme is to take each group and to discuss the names used, the ethnic position, the history and legendary traditions. This method is used once more in all the subdivisions until the smallest divisions are reached. Such a work is necessarily encyclopædic in style, and although interesting to read is somewhat discontinuous. It is a mine of information and has a very full and careful index, a most necessary complement to such a work. The present reviewer, however, found that the method of sometimes giving pages and sometimes sections in the index was occasionally troublesome. In addition to the general bibliography, the author saves a great deal of trouble by giving specific references at the end of each section. The maps, some original, some collected from various sources, are most useful. It should be emphasized that, with few exceptions, the whole of the information contained in this most scholarly work is linguistic. It is unfortunate that the term 'ethnic affinities' has such an indefinite sense in English, because Dr. Schütte means here what many of us might be inclined to call linguistic affinities. There is no question that the work is of very great importance. Those of us who are concerned with a rather different aspect of the ethnic position of our forefathers will certainly welcome a work which puts one side of the question so clearly and learnedly, and it will be of immense assistance in any future attempts to study from various points the origin and early history of the English people. The simple and logical arrangement makes it a book easy to use by those whose special subject lies in a different direction. On the linguistic problems raised, the present writer is not competent to express any opinion, but on such historical and archaeological points as came within his very limited knowledge, the information provided was both exact and to the point, and on a practical test the book fell into that rare but delightful class of those volumes which are easy to find one's way about in.

L. H. D. B.

**La Race, Les Races.** By George Montandon. Payot, Paris, 1933. 299 pp., pls. 24 and folder map. Price 30 frs.

The first part, 'La Race,' gives a general review of many recent discussions of the problems of race biology, emphasizing the author's adherence to the principle of *l'ologenese* of Rosa. His second part surveys and attempts to classify 'Les Races.' He allows five main races—Pigmy, Negroid, Vedd'Australoid, Mongoloid, Europoid. For the clear recognition of the third, one may express gratitude. The second, though it is subdivided, is less valuable. The author speaks wisely of the differences between the Papua-Tasmania-Melanesia group and the African group, but he speaks of the Dravidian group, the general population of South India as intermediate. Most students will prefer the views of Haddon and of Elliot Smith on this point. As regards Africa the author thinks that Bantu groups like the Fang in the extreme north-west of the Congo-Gabon forest region represent a spread from the south, and he thus thinks of the Bantu region as, basically, east and south Africa, with extensions into the Congo Forest. He tries to use cephalic form to differentiate the populations of the forest region, and some will think his conclusions would have been strengthened had he not separated the pigmies off so markedly. The occurrence of a brachycephalic forest negro, noted long ago by Keith, is here discussed without reaching any clear conclusion.

The inclusion of the Lapps in the Europoid rather than the Mongoloid division is open to divergence of opinion. Montandon thinks the Lapp eyes, forehead and chin

very different from those of Mongoloid peoples. The Europoids are made to include a Blonde Race with sub-races such as the Nordic (dolichocephalic) and the sub-Nordic (some tall and mesocephalic, some short and sub-brachycephalic, and others with other combinations of characters). This perhaps gives rather too much weight to the lightness of colouring. In the main, however, as regards Europe, the author follows Ripley, agreeing also with some points raised by Haddon and by Deniker.

The book is clearly and interestingly written. The study of race develops so fast that one cannot but regret that it was published too early to take account of the Kanjera skull and its relation to the Chellean culture, or of Hutton's report on the 1931 census of India. Both these contributions raise points that affect the discussions of 'La Race' as well as 'Les Races.'

H. J. F.

**La Vie d'un Peuple : L'Ukraine.** By Roger Tisserand. Preface de René Pinou. Librairie Orientale et Américaine. G.-P. Maisonneuve, Paris, 1933. 14 iv + 298 pp., pls. 10 and 1 map. Price 25 frs.

Minority apologetic literature is never dull: there is always the unexpected eulogy, strained out of anything from local flora to foreign journalism. M. Tisserand has missed nothing that might add to the glory of the Ukraine—Scythian art, Gogol, foreign poets who lived there, popular poetry (most of which, it is implied, dates from the earliest historical times), and the fact that the language has twenty-eight verbs for the action of speaking. This latter is an under-estimate for a good many European languages, it is true, but the passage is noteworthy inasmuch as it is almost the only time in the whole book that a statement is fortified by an example. Western Europe, in its most reactionary mood, does not forget to accuse the Soviets of tyranny, but dares seldom define what it means by freedom: Tisserand offers Cossacks, mediæval romance, the Rada of 1917, and "la patrie de Vladimir, de Mazeppa, de Petlura." Throughout, the figures of individuals are substituted for the history of a people, and the barter of interests, from the beginning of the revolution to the defeat of Petlura's army, is passed over lightly. Nor can racial and national questions be handled on the assumption that the Ukraine is a 'Mediterranean country,'

or 'European,' in contrast to Russia's barbarous mixture of debased Slavs, Scandinavians, indigenous Finns, Cheremisians, Mordvin and Tartar elements! One may assume that in the main the archaeology and ethnology have been handed down from Zabelin or Cohn, while almost any standard history of Russia might provide the scaffolding—with suitable omissions and errors—for the conventionally picturesque and heroic. The ethnographic data are negligible. There is material out of which could be made a case for Ukrainian independence, but one would not recommend the methods of the present volume.

P. K.

**Archæological Tours from Mexico City.** By R. H. K. Marett. London: Simpkin Marshall, Ltd., 1934. 117 pp. Price 3s. 6d.

15

This is a small book, but contains a surprising amount of interesting matter. Apart from its more special functions as a guide book, it gives a well-balanced and sympathetic appreciation of the old cultures and a useful summary of the present state of archaeological knowledge. The treatment of the subject is sound, though, of course, not all students will ascribe so great an antiquity to the Archaic culture as the author does, nor agree with the suggested migrations, still less with the theory that the Totonac culture was the parent of those of the Toltec and Maya. The author is probably mistaken in saying that the Totonac never achieved a calendar. True, no calendar of theirs has been preserved, but Torquemada's account of their history seems to show that they used 'ages' somewhat on the Maya principle, as Spinden has shown. The most serious criticism which might be made is that one might get the impression from the book that all the New Empire culture of Yucatan was Toltec, as it is not sufficiently emphasized that there was a definite New Empire Maya culture in Yucatan subsequent to the Old Empire one, and prior to that of the Toltec. Also it is not correct to say that the Aztec culture had existed hundreds of years before the Spanish conquest.

The descriptions of the various sites are full and easy to follow, and there are clear directions how to visit them. The author writes in an interesting style, and the book is well illustrated.

RICHARD C. E. LONG.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### India: Census.

SIR,—I write with reference to MAN, 1934, 153, in the August number, which has just reached me. At least Mr. K. de B. Codrington and myself are agreed on one point, the scantiness of the material available for the examination of the question of race in India. That, I hold, justifies me in taking into account all the material at my disposal, whether physical or cultural, and as regards linguistics I thought I had made it clear that there is no evidence for south India, since there has been no survey. In any case I should not be prepared to admit that the biological was the only approach to anthropology.

It is, of course, a controllable hypothesis that the races (I accepted Petrie's definition of race) of southern India developed locally from a common original, though its inherent improbability is not likely to find it many advocates, but I gather that Mr. Codrington does incline to the view that there is only one general racial type south of the Ganges. I have no access to the authorities he quotes, but if this view be accepted, it

leads to the dilemma, either that craniometry is worthless as a test of race, or that the material on which his view is based is entirely insufficient. Except for the mention of one Adichanallur skull he offers no assurance that all the skulls studied are not, for instance, Reddi, Vellala or Kapu, widespread and probably closely related groups. Personally, I found it possible to go into a big class-room in the college at Ernakulam in Cochin State containing Nayars, Iruvas and non-Nambudiri Brahmans and to pick out the Brahmans (Deshast and Tamil) solely by the shape of their faces and heads, though I do not pretend that it would have been possible to segregate the Iruvas or Nambudiris had there been any, from the Nayars. If Mr. Codrington can demonstrate by craniometry that Nayar and Tamil Brahman, Coorgi and Palayan, Kadar and Telugu Brahman are all craniologically of the same race at the present day, we shall at least be able to escape the dilemma, for I make bold to say that it will prove craniometry valueless as a criterion of race.

J. H. HUTTON.

Kohima, Naga Hills, Assam.



**Female Fertility Figures.** Cf. MAN, 1934, 208.

**17** SIR,—With reference to Mr. Freeman's letter (MAN, 1934, 208) a note on the figure at Penmon appeared in MAN 1930, 94, before it was removed from the outside wall, and a later photograph in 'Archæologia Cambrensis,' 1930, p. 446. The figure is undoubtedly female and belongs to one of the well-known types of Sheila-na-gig. It has been very little mutilated. I am proposing to publish it with several other unrecorded examples from Wales and the Border in the near future.

W. J. HEMP.

**Funeral Customs.**

**18** SIR,—During the winter of 1928-9, I spent two months in the Benedictine Monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos in the province of Burgos (Spain), where, through the kindness of the abbot and monks, I was allowed to follow as much of the community life as my archaeological work would permit. Shortly before Christmas a lay-brother died. During the following week, a crucifix was set at his vacant place in the refectory and his share of each meal served as usual. Afterwards the food was carried away and given to a poor man in the village. Surely, there is a survival of the funeral feast in this custom. WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL.

**Pearls as Life Givers.**

**19** SIR,—A recently published book, 'Imperial Incense,' by the Princess Der Ling, formerly Chief Lady-in-Waiting to the famous Dowager Empress of China (London, Stanley Paul, 1934), gives much interesting detail about that lady's manner of life. One of her habits was to swallow pearls in order to preserve a youthful appearance.

She had many ideas about beauty. One was that of using at ten-day intervals the dust of pearls which she ate. Enough small pearls were used so that the resultant powder should fill a small salt spoon. The taking of pearl powder was a regular part of Court routine. Every ten days regularly the eunuch, whose task it was to grind the pearls in proper amount, appeared before Her Majesty carrying the powder.

Usually several court ladies witnessed the ceremony. The spoon was given her. She thrust out her tongue and placed the pearl powder on it. Then we had hot tea ready which we gave her so that she drank immediately after she had taken the pearl powder into her mouth.

"Pearl powder is very heavy," she said. "Taken in small quantities, as we take it, it helps to keep us youthful. It brightens the skin and makes it young again. If we were to take larger amounts or take small amounts oftener it would do us a great deal of harm." P. 259.

Cleopatra is reputed to have taken her pearls dissolved in vinegar. But presumably she took them for the same purpose. M. E. DURHAM.

**Geometrical Art** (cf. J.R.A.I., lxiv, 129-176).

**20** SIR,—Whilst carrying out anthropological research in Tanga in 1933, I collected several examples of native drawings and, among them, one drawing (Fig. 1) which is definitely of the same type as those collected by Deacon and Firth, and described in J.R.A.I., lxiv, 129-176.

Although I have but one example of this type of geometrical drawing I feel sure that there are others known to the natives of this group. I did not question the artist who drew the accompanying design as to his knowledge of other similar designs, as I imagined that he had been taught to draw in this way by the Mission boy, who had but recently returned from a Mission school on the mainland of New Ireland. The method

appeared to me to smack too much of white influence to bother over-much about its origin and, until I read in Malekula of Deacon's discovery of certain geometrical figures, I was firmly of the opinion that the accompanying figure was the product of our own rather than a native culture.

The basic framework of the design consists of four circles, drawn one within the other, from a common

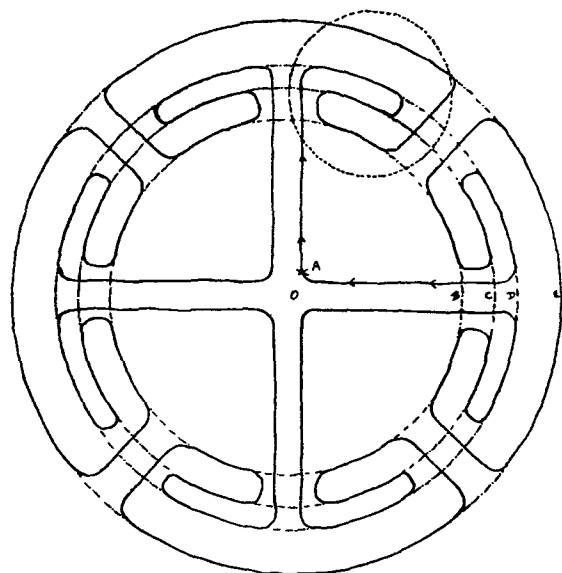


FIG. 1. GEOMETRICAL DRAWING.  
— · — · — = Four Basic Circles.

centre O. The lengths of the radii of the four circles are as follows: OB = 12 ins.; OC = 14 ins.; OD = 15 ins.; OE = 18 ins. The starting and finishing point is indicated by the letter A and, as Deacon says, the aim of the artist is "to move smoothly and continuously through the design from starting-point to starting-point."

The attitude of the artist towards the making of this design appeared to me to be exactly similar to the attitude of one who was showing me a trick string-figure. On completing the drawing, he smoothed out the patch of sand and laughingly challenged me to repeat the design. When I failed in my attempt he carefully taught me how to draw the design, and seemed pleased when I successfully transferred it to my notebook. Drawings of this type are definitely intended to surprise and intrigue the onlooker with their complexity rather than please him with their aesthetic appearance.

The name given to this design from Tanga is *pangta un gahmti*, literally, 'the design/connected with/the log-drum' and, more freely, 'the drum design.' The recurring motif (indicated on the diagram by a dotted circle) is the decorative 'handle' (*angkitkita*) of the log-drum (*gahmti*), whilst the drawing, regarded as a whole, represents four log-drums.

The design was drawn by Kukse, a youth of about 18 years, on the smooth, sandy beach opposite the village of Aebil, island of Boieng, Tanga Group.

N.B.—Tanga is a group of islands lying off the north-east coast of New Ireland, Mandated Territory of New Guinea. For a brief account of the culture, see *Oceania*, iv, 290-309.

University of Sydney.

F. L. S. BELL.





FIG. 1. THE HALAIS 'BEEHIVE' TOMBS.

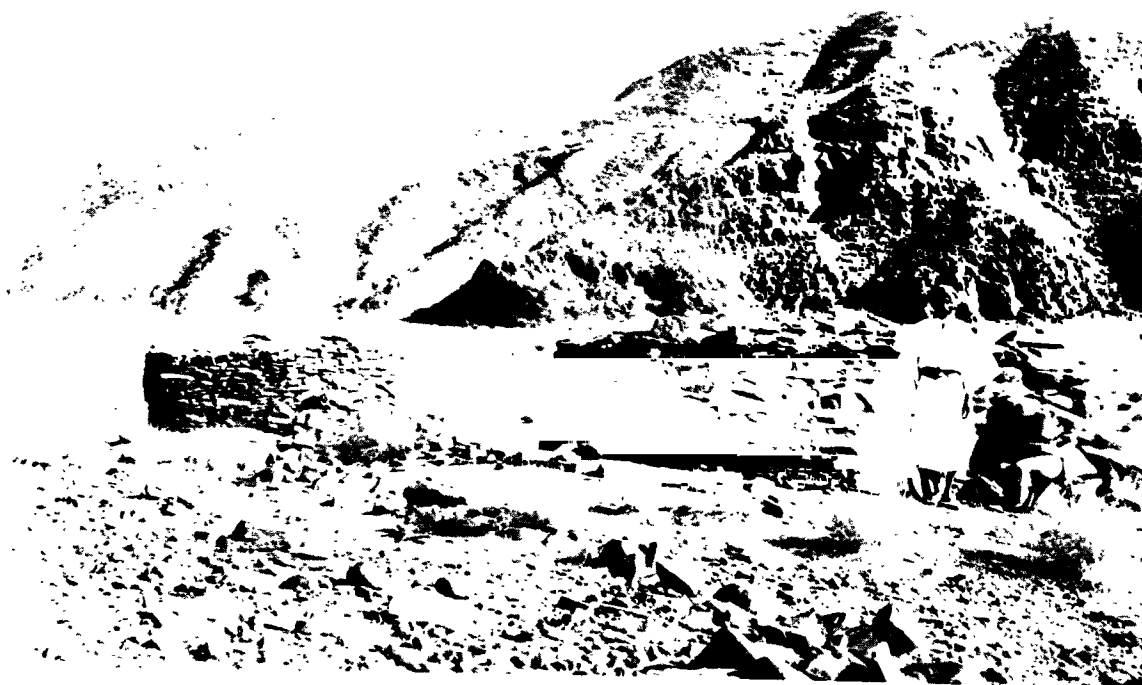


FIG. 2. TWO SINAI NAWAMIS IN THE WADI SOLAF.

**BEEHIVE GRAVES (NAWAMIS) IN THE NORTH-EASTERN SUDAN AND SINAI.**

# MAN

## A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

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### ORIGINAL ARTICLES

With Plate B.

Murray.

Bee-hive Graves (Nawamis) in the North-Eastern Sudan and Sinai. By G. W. Murray.

#### I

In 1926, near the fishing village of Halaib on the Red Sea Coast in latitude  $22^{\circ} 14' N.$ , I discovered on the hill of T'Arara six beehive-like tombs closely resembling the *nawamis* of Sinai, or the *rijjum* found by Doughty in Arabia.<sup>1</sup> **21**

Superstructures had been erected over the original interment by corbelling till a 'bee-hive' of 2 metres internal diameter at base and 1.7 metres high had been formed with an aperture in the roof large enough to admit the passage of a man. Outside this, a dry stone cairn or tumulus 6 metres in diameter had been piled up rather untidily. In this, they resemble the grave (*rejem*) from Ain Saфра in Algeria figured by Oric Bates, *Eastern Libyans*, p. 247. But there the tumulus is supported by false arching directly over the interment, and no internal space is left.

The Sinai *nawamis* differ from the Halaib graves by having a neatly built circular retaining wall (see Fig. 2).

On the western side was a double niche, no doubt for offerings, but there was no passage connecting it with the interior.

Two examples were examined, and in both at about 20 centimetres depth were bones very much decomposed, covered with small stones. Two copper rings for a small finger were the only objects found. My Bisharin companions called the tombs *akirateil*, and volunteered that there was another such in Wadi Rahaba, where the local people still annually make a sacrifice.

Two more of these 'bee-hives' were seen on a neighbouring hill, and a rather similar structure with rounded corners had a Moslem praying place to the east. Altogether I gathered the impression that they were pre-Islamic, but of no very great antiquity.

They recalled the more elaborate graves, rectangular with an upper circular superstructure, which have been described and figured by Schweinfurth<sup>2</sup> from Gebel Maman, 95 kilometres north of Kassala.

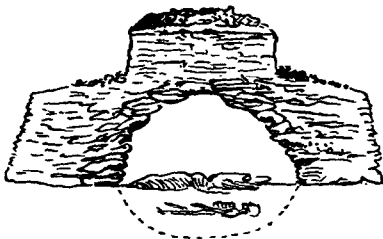


FIG. 3. GEBEL MAMAN GRAVE.  
(SCHWEINFURTH)

He distinguished them from the ordinary 'ring-graves' (C group) by having (a) vaulting, (b) an entrance passage, and (c) being used for more than one burial. So far as his figures go, these Gebel Maman structures may well have evolved naturally from the simple Halaib 'bee-hives.'

Crowfoot, however, thought them medieval and degenerate, and says: "Some are solid blocks of masonry, in others the inner chamber is vaulted on the 'false arch' principle and the dome is a dome only in appearance. . . . It looks as if the latter (the architects of Maman) were familiar with the outline of the Gubba and tried to reproduce it without any regard for the

"original purpose of the forms they copied."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, 1933, p. 386.

<sup>3</sup> Crowfoot. *Sudan Notes and Records*. Vol. v, No. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Schweinfurth. *Auf unbetretenen Wegen in Aegypten*, Pp. 83, 87. 1922, p. 287.

Here an article by Mr. Wilfred Thesiger in *The Times* of August 1st, 1934, on the customs of the Danakil in Eritrea ought to be quoted. He says: "The dead are either buried according to the Mohamedan law in a grave known as *dico* or more commonly are placed on a platform of stones and walled up inside a large, hollow mound known as *waidella*, the same *waidella* often serving for a whole family. The origin of this method of burial I believe to have been the impossibility of digging a grave in the greater part of this country. A large upright stone or small turret is sometimes placed on the top of the mound to scare away hyenas when they attempt to dig out the corpse. In Aussa this turret has lost its original purpose and has been incorporated into the *waidella* itself, radically changing its construction."

So it appears that the Gebel Maman structures are still being built.

## II

Characteristics (b) and (c) mentioned above do not apply to the Halaib graves, but, if Doughty is right, they do to the Sinai *nawamis*. These latter have been excavated by Currelly,<sup>4</sup> who found in them shell ornaments and flint arrow-heads belonging to a race, obviously very primitive in culture, but not necessarily very early in date. Currelly found that grass

offerings were made to two of these in the Wadi Solaf, and in 1932 I noticed in the same place that this custom was still observed.

Corbelling in mud-brick occurs in Egyptian tombs at a very early date. Dr. Reisner writes to me in a private letter, which he has kindly allowed me to quote:—

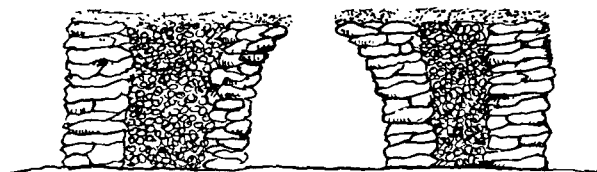


FIG. 4. SECTION THROUGH A SINAI NAWUSA.

"In regard to corbel roofing, you will find the Second Dynasty examples found in substructures mentioned in *Naga-ed-Dêr I*. The corbel with entrance was used in Upper Egypt in Dynasty II, in crude-brick graves, including by reconstruction the tomb of Khasekhemuwy. These were all rectangular corbels. In Dynasty IV (early part) a closed corbel without entrance doorway was introduced, still of crude brick, and takes two forms—(1) rectangular when enclosing wooden box coffin, (2) circular when enclosing circular pottery cist. I now assign the use of crude-brick corbelling to the tomb of Qay-a'a, last king of Dynasty I, and in my *Tomb Development* (now in press) I give a history of the development of the corbel into the stone corbels of Dynasty IV.

"Corbelling was generally superseded by the leaning course vault in Dynasty IV, but continued in use in stone masonry until after the New Kingdom. The earliest dated circular rubble structures are those of the C group, and similar rubble structures in the desert probably occur down to the eighth century B.C., when we have the important examples at Kur'uw, where this type, still solid with offering place on the valley side, was used for the graves of the ancestors of Piankhy. A similar form was used for the Nubian graves of the Meroitic period down to the Coptic period. The examples are known from the district between the First Cataract and Khartum, with isolated cases in the Egyptian Desert."

The practice of corbel roofing seems therefore to have originated in mud-brick in the Nile Valley about the time of the First Dynasty: to have been copied in rubble masonry by the inhabitants of the desert and to have spread north-eastwards into Sinai and Northern Arabia and south-eastwards into the Sudan and Eritrea, where it is not yet quite extinguished by the Moslem type of burial.

It is also difficult not to see in these primitive 'domes' an early step towards the development of the Arab *qubba*, a real dome, whose original purpose, according to Westermarck, was to prevent people walking over the tomb of the saint, an object which the Arabs had attained in earlier times by simply pitching a tent.<sup>5</sup>

G. W. MURRAY.

<sup>4</sup> Flinders Petrie. *Researches in Sinai*. 1906. (Chap. ter by C. T. Currelly.) Pp. 243, 246, 260.

<sup>5</sup> Dr. G. A. Reisner adds to this: "Concerning your quotation from Westermarck, the purpose of the grave mound was not only to protect the burial, but also to mark the grave as a place where offerings to the dead

were made. The use of a dome to protect the grave itself is not quite so simple. The use of tents to shield the body and the offerings while awaiting burial (often only a few hours) is known as far back as Dynasty I, and was never anything more than a temporary use."

**Africa : South.****Schofield.****Zimbabwe : "The Ancient Ruins Company, Limited."** *By J. F. Schofield, Durban.*

Some little time ago I was shown, by Mr. E. A. Hopkins, of Durban North, a letterpress copy of an autograph letter from W. G. Neal to Tom Peachy, dated 23rd September, 1895, from Mambo Ruins, Southern Rhodesia. This letter throws such a flood of light into an obscure corner of the administration of the British South Africa Company that I am enclosing a copy, trusting you will give it the publicity it deserves. 22

The writer of the letter, W. G. Neal, was a Durban man who in the eighteen-eighties began mining in the Barberton district, and went on to Southern Rhodesia, where in 1891 he met Bent at Mazoe. In May, 1895, he concluded the negotiations with the Hon. Maurice Gifford and Mr. Jefferson Clark, under which these gentlemen agreed to the formation of the Ancient Ruins Company, Limited, which was to take over the concessions granted to them for the exploitation of all ancient ruins south of the Zambesi, by the British South Africa Company. Neal and George Johnson (the "old George" of the letter), agreed to hand over £2,000 and to receive 6,000 fully-paid-up shares in the new company, in which Tom Peachy had apparently taken up another 5,000 shares. With Neal and Johnson was a Mr. Frank Leech, of whom nothing more is known than is related in the letter.

The affairs of the Ancient Ruins Company, Limited, came to an end in 1900. Tradition relates that, shortly before this, Rhodes came across a number of these gentry busily engaged on the Zimbabwe Ruins, with the avowed intention of putting all that remained of the 'Temple' through the mill. As a result, all the ruins were taken over by the Administration, and an Ancient Ruins Ordinance was passed by the Legislative Council. Commenting on this in *Ancient Ruins of Rhodesia*, p. 92, Hall and Neal remark, noncommittally, "what steps the Government may take to protect their valuable property cannot be stated." Indeed, none have been necessary, for so carefully had the work of 'exploration' been carried out that no further treasure has come to light in thirty-four years.

About this time Neal met R. N. Hall, and collaborated with him in the production of *Ancient Ruins of Rhodesia*, which was published in 1902. It is a difficult book to read, and much is very obscure. What, for instance, can one understand from a description of a small gold head ornament about 1½ inches in diameter, p. 232, which reads as follows :—

Boss or rosette of beaten gold with sun image embossed, a common object in Phallic decoration, and similar to the knob on the sacred Cone of the great Phœnician Temple of the Sun at Emesa, in Syria (*Herodian*, bk. v, p. 5).

Nevertheless, it contains interesting data, contributed by Neal, of some 140 ruins—43 of which he had personally explored—but so edited and overlaid with theories is this information that any unsupported statement should be taken with caution.

From *Ancient Ruins of Rhodesia*, I judge that the venture was not a very profitable one from Neal's point of view, for in five years only 500 ozs. of gold were recovered (p. 91). But the damage done was immense, for everything except the gold was treated in a most reckless manner.

The most noticeable feature which emerges from a comparison between the *Ancient Ruins of Rhodesia* and our letter is that Neal and his companions are no longer a jolly lot of treasure hunters, but a high-browed company of archaeologists who inveigh against the vandalism of prospectors for treasure (pp. 92 and 192), and particularly such as have not been 'licensed.' The Ancient Ruins Company is only mentioned in an acknowledgment of the use of its records, and its financial aspects are omitted altogether.

Just prior to the date of the letter, Neal and Johnson had been engaged in looting the Mundie Ruins in the Belingwe District, where they had been very successful. "Old George had dropped on two of their hiding places and got about 6 lbs. in one." This is noted in *Ancient Ruins of Rhodesia* (p. 249) : "In a ruin the skeletal remains of an ancient were discovered with seventy-two ounces interred with him."

The Mambo Ruins are better known as Dhlo-Dhlo Ruins. The seal and the silver jewellery, which were regarded with such interest, become in *Ancient Ruins of Rhodesia* (p. 278) the centre of an interesting myth. A quondam owner, a Portuguese priest, was invented for the silver and the

700 ounces of gold which were stated to have been discovered with it, and of him our authors gravely remark: "It is highly probable that the priest combined trading with his sacerdotal functions." But since the total amount of gold found in five years was only 500 ounces, it is only too evident that there is a snag somewhere.

It is pleasing to note that Rhodes and Jameson, preoccupied as they must have been in September, 1895, could yet congratulate Neal on the success of his lesser undertakings. J. F. SCHOFIELD.

THE LETTER: W. G. NEAL TO TOM PEACHY.

Rhodesia Ancient Ruins, Mambo Ruins,

My dear Tom,

Sept. 23, 1895.

It is some time ago since I last wrote you and during that time I have knocked around and seen many funny things. It is somewhat stale news *re* the Gold and Ancient Jewellery yet I think coming from me it will be of interest; George and I were actually the first to find in the first pan small gold beads similar to the smallest bead worn by our Natal Niggers at the same time Frank and I had the idea 3 months beforehand owing to my picking up a couple of small nuggets at the abovementioned ruins at that time these ruins belonged to the Honourable Maurice Gifford and no one was allowed to work. Now a company is formed with £25,000 Capital for our [share ?] we paid 2000 Cash and 6000 fully pd up shares to-day they stand at 102/6 per share you will now hold over one fifth interest in the concern the Company bought the Gold ornaments and have been offered £5,000 but expect to get £1,000 more; the like has never been discovered before in Modern or Ancient History, besides beads which ranged from the smallest we got them all sizes up to Ounce weight. Bangles we got weighing 26 Sovereigns each, they were big bangles and made in wire so worked up that if you wanted to separate them you would have to cut them necklaces both of beads and worked up wire with fancy gold ornaments; here and there bracelets of pure gold by the dozen the whole amount was 200 odd ounces a little over 17 lbs. weight, Jameson the Administrator thanked us and congratulated us and gave us the Concession over all ruins south of the Zambesi, and Mr. Rhodes has approved of the affair. I have been put on the Directorate and am now here with George they made a great fuss of us in camp and we were walked off to be photographed with the Gold. It came out very well and I expect ere long you will see one of them. W. I. Campbell was here yesterday a couple of ladies looking and photographing the ruins. Since our arrival here we have got 25 ounces of Gold and the manufacture of the jewellery is even finer than the other lot. Several ounces of silver jewellery also quite a new departure and a silver seal which Campbell and Clark one of the directors, say is as valuable as all the Gold, all this has been found outside the Ruins and we expect when we work inside to drop on to it stowed away like we did the last lot. Old George dropped on to two of their hiding places and got about 6 lbs. weight in one and 3 lbs. in the other. We expect next year to work Zimbabi there I believe we will get it by the Hundredweight for all around and inside will give you from 10 to 100 beads, small pellets of Gold, sheet Gold and Gold tacks as common as tin tacks. So much for ruins. . . .

. . . . Clark one of our Directors took our last consignment of Gold and Curios and he intends to boom the shares up, by the last paper they were 45/- so you see they are on the run. . . .

Believe me, Your affect. chum, W. G. NEAL.

## Sociology.

Initiation and Manhood. *By A. M. Hocart.*

Hocart.

**23** Theories of puberty rites abound; but why not first ask the people who practise them? The Fijians call a boy 'man' ('male,' *tanane*) after circumcision.

Howitt saw Kuringals drive away grown-up men before an initiation ceremony began, because they had not been initiated; they had not been 'made men' (*Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, 530).

Such examples might be multiplied indefinitely, but we all know already that boys come out of the ceremony as men, so we should be no wiser if we went on on this tack. What I want is to draw attention to cases which show clearly that it is no mere manner of speaking, nor a mere moral transformation.

The Loritja, neighbours of the Aranda, allow an initiated youth to keep an uninitiated boy, because that boy is not reckoned a man.

Omaha boys fast and cry in the wilderness. If they dream that they receive a woman's burden strap, they feel compelled to dress and live henceforth in every way as women. Such men are known as *mixuga*. (Fletcher and La Flesche, *The Omaha Tribe*, 133 f.)

Clearly, a boy cannot become a man just by growing up: a ceremony is needed. But surely these people do not imagine that initiation fixes the anatomy. They know quite well how a boy is made. Nor will plain facts allow them to think that the changes which take place at puberty await the performance of a rite. In Fiji, circumcision used to be so long delayed that boys were physically men before they underwent it, and some had already had intrigues with girls. Howitt's outcasts had wives and children. Miss Fletcher tells of one Omaha whom an omen had forced to live as a woman, but who none the less reared a family.

If the ritual makes no difference physically, what does it do? Ask the people. The Omaha tell us a boy who prays and fasts is seeking "happy life, good health, success in hunting; in war "he desires to secure spoils and to escape the enemy." The general purpose is not peculiar to initiation: all rituals have as their end Life (with a capital L) and all that conduces to it. Thus the Omaha consecrate their little children "to walk long upon the earth," to obtain "light of many days." The general purpose of the childhood rite and of the puberty fasting is the same. One sacrament differs from another merely in the scope and degree of life and power which it confers (see my *Progress of Man*, p. 187). As usual, we need not have gone outside our own country to learn that. Any theological treatise will give us the sacramental ladder and the exact kind of grace it confers. 'Grace' is a supernatural gift in order to confer eternal 'life.'

Putting two and two together, we conclude that the Omaha initiation gives a boy the common gift of all ritual, life, but in its own specific form a *male* life. By the Turning Ceremony the child acquires just length of days; later by fasting the boy acquires a male life, one dependent on *male* occupations, such as hunting and war. He is henceforth qualified to play a male part in the ritual and to wear male insignia. That is, of course, if he has passed the ritual successfully. That cannot be known without a test (see my 'Consecration and Prosperity,' MAN, 1931, 110). In this case the test is a dream. If the dream indicates that the boy is now a man, well and good. If it points to his not having acquired a male life, or 'grace,' as we should call it, he cannot live as a man and wear male insignia.

Thus the sensational custom, like all sensational customs, resolves itself into a straightforward application of a general rule. The rule is that a ritual only blesses those that are qualified to undergo it; it blasts those who are not holy enough. This rule holds good in the British Isles as much as anywhere. (*The Catholic Faith*, 77, 105; cf. 1 Corinthians, i, 19.)

To take a concrete case, no one who is not qualified may take the royal consecration. Many a man has been blasted, or involved his kingdom in a drought, by his presumption. In the same way, no boy who has failed to achieve a male grace can wear male garments, or follow male pursuits like hunting and war, where success depends largely on successful rites. If he ignores the dream, he is blasted. "Instances have been recorded," says Miss Fletcher, "in which the unfortunate dreamer, "even with the help of his parents, could not ward off the evil influence of the dream, and resorted "to suicide as the only means of escape" (*op. cit.*, 132).

It is no use then calling in mental pathology to explain the *mixuga*. They are not inverts in whom the wish was father to the dream. It is quite plain that the role of *mixuga* was most repugnant to most of the men, but there was no alternative except the ill-luck which besets the man who assumes a rank into which he has not been successfully consecrated. Miss Fletcher records the case of one *mixuga* who was so manly he broke out now and again, dressed as a man, went to the wars, then, after distinguishing himself there, resumed a woman's life, except that he had a wife and children.

No, it is not a case of pathology. It merely shows with what rigour ritual theory can be carried out, and quite naturally, because you cannot trifle with life and death.

Initiation then confers, not manhood, but manliness, if by manliness we understand success in



all the pursuits of men, in achieving women, in rearing a family, in war, hunting, or whatever may be considered man's work among any given people. Fishing is man's work in Eddystone of the Solomons.

That explains why the Eddystonians believe that if a man is woman-shy he cannot catch fish. A woman-shy man is not manly; therefore he cannot be successful in the manly work of catching fish.

Spinning for bonito is especially manly, and women are not allowed in canoes specially dedicated to it. Before a youth can take up the art he must be inducted. In Eddystone there are no generalized puberty ceremonies, ceremonies that confer a general patent of manly efficiency. There are only specialized initiations, that is, initiations into special systems, the bonito ritual, the war ritual, and so on. The Eddystonians have apparently ceased to think a ceremony needful in order to confer manliness in general; boys grow into marriageable men without it, but not into successful fishermen, or warriors: specialized initiations are required for success in these specialized pursuits of men. It sometimes happens, however, that a boy fails to develop manliness. He is woman-shy, and has a smell, called *mbosi*, which the bonito does not like. This condition is known as *ngiru* in Eddystone, as *ngiruhu* in Roviana. It is removed by special charms, and I have met a man who was thus cured, married and was able to catch fish. Evidently some cases resist all treatment, for we are told of two chronic cases, but only two in the whole of Eddystone and Roviana combined. They were both elderly men, bachelors, and unable to catch fish.

The treatment conforms to the usual Eddystonian pattern. I have published a fragment of a cure for the smell in my 'Witchcraft and Medicine' (Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst., lv, 1925, p. 240). I possess a full, but unpublished, Rovianese charm for the condition of woman-shyness. The prayer runs: "I stroke this man, I stroke away the woman-shyness (*ngiruhu*), the smell. . . . Let this man abide and catch fish, let him overturn turtle, let him catch bonito, let him marry. Thus be it with the man whom I stroke. Be effective for him, you spirits."

The purpose is more generalized than that of other medical charms, of head-hunting and of bonito charms. It makes an unmanly man into a manly one. We may then regard it as a decayed puberty initiation which has fallen into disuse, but is revived whenever a man fails to develop manliness without its aid.

A. M. HOCART.

## Africa: East.

## Huntingford.

The Genealogy of the Orkoik of Nandi. By G. W. B. Huntingford.

**24** The *orkoik*<sup>1</sup> or 'kings' of the Nandi are descended from Kapuso, a Vasin Gishu Māsae of the Sikilai division, who on the destruction of the Vasin Gishu, between 1850 and 1860, took refuge in Nandi, and was accepted by the Talai clan as a member: his family and descendants took this clan for their own. The family of Kapuso appear to have been the 'l-oibonok'<sup>2</sup> of the Vasin Gishu, and in an almost incredibly short space of time succeeded in imposing upon the Nandi the *orkoinotet*, or witchdoctor-rule, in which they have been compelled (against their will) to acquiesce. Kapuso, it seems, had two sons, Kopokoii and Kipsokon, who became the first *orkoik*, and founded the families known after them as Kâpkopokoii and Kâpkipsokon. Till about 1885, there was no rivalry, the heads of both families being joint *orkoik*; but after the time of Turukat and Kinekat, the Kâpkopokoii gained political ascendancy, and ousted the Kâpkipsokon, since when the *orkoik* have, with one exception, belonged to the former family. How Arap Kinekat became *orkoiyot* in 1911 is not quite clear, though the death of Kipeles towards the end of that year caused a certain amount of confusion; and Lelimo, though he was officially appointed in 1911, was still not recognized by the tribe in 1918. Parserion, who succeeded, brought the rule back to the Kâpkopokoii, and, like Arap Kinekat, was elected in secret. When he was deported in 1923 for political reasons, the brother of Kipeles was elected as official *orkoiyot*. This man, being old and somewhat infirm, resigned in 1927, and his place as official *orkoiyot* was taken by Arap Lein, who is, I believe, a great-grandson of Turukat. These two (Arap Kipeles and Arap Lein) were not the choice of the Talai,

<sup>1</sup> Singular, *orkoiyot*.

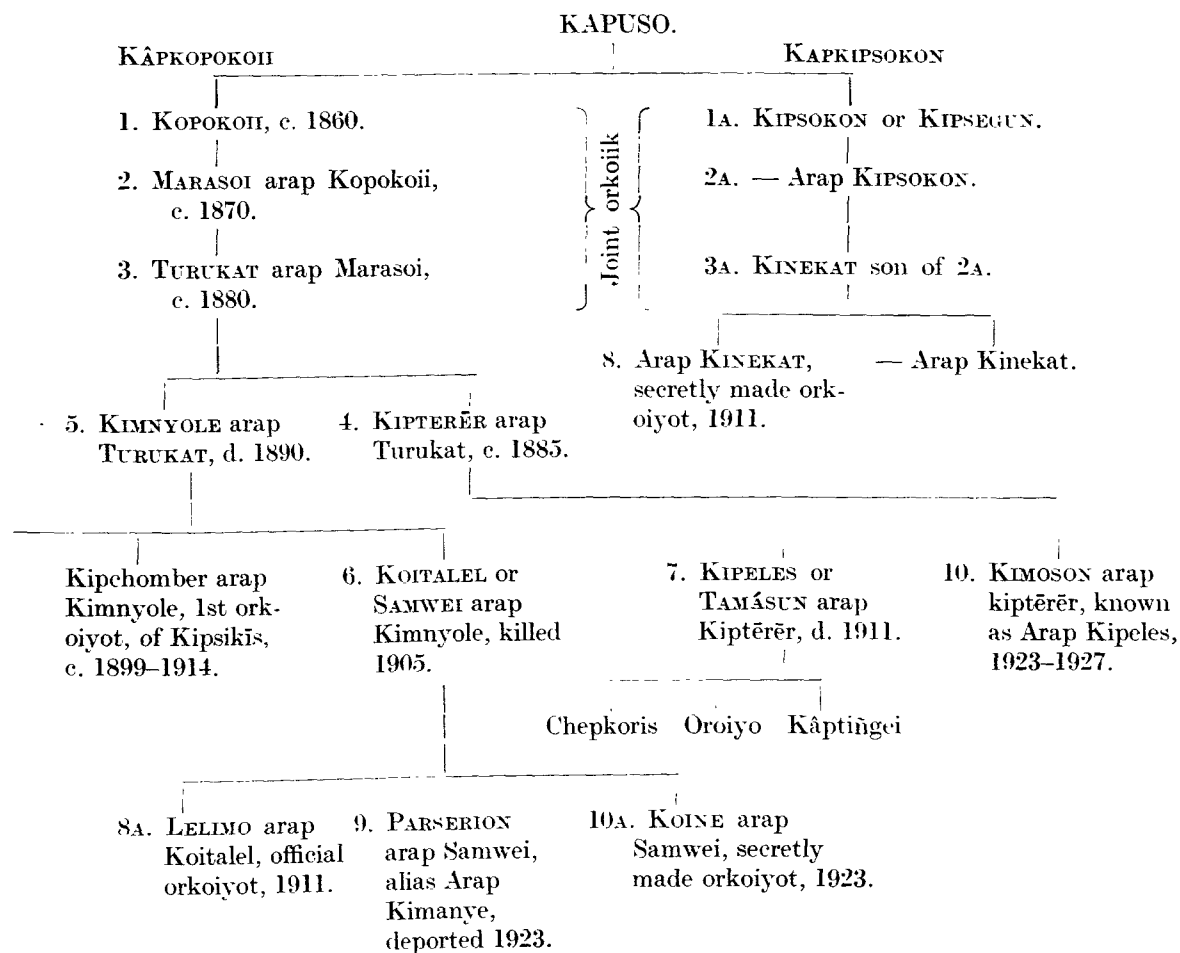
<sup>2</sup> Singular, *ol-oiboni*.

who chose their own successor to Parserion, whose name was kept hidden, and who ruled in secret as Parserion's deputy.

Of the earlier *orkoik* little is known: in the time of Turukat and Kinekat, North Nandi (Wareñg) seems to have been threatened with invasion by Māsae, and the name of the river Aiu' ap Setan<sup>3</sup>—which dates from this time—commemorates their attempt to stop the invasion by putting magic in the river. Kimnyole was killed by the Nandi in 1890 because they blamed him for several disasters.<sup>4</sup> His successor, Koitalel, was *orkoiyot* when the British began to administer Nandi, and was responsible for the opposition made by the tribe from 1896 to 1905.

G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD.

In the following table the names of the ruling *orkoiik* are printed in capitals :—



### Archæology.

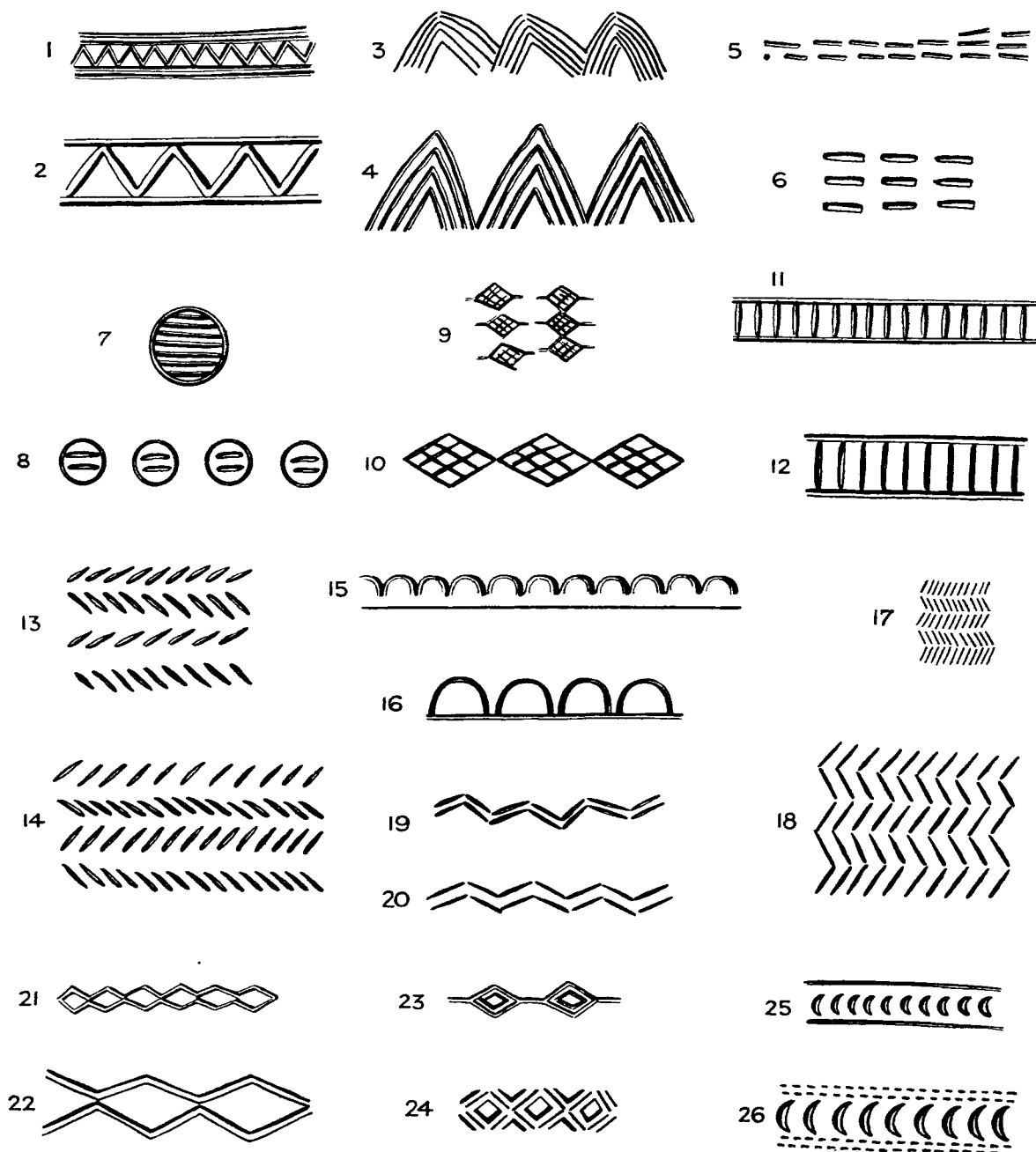
**Burchell : Reid Moir.**

**Ornamental Motifs Common in Upper Palæolithic and Bronze Age Times.** *By J. P. T. Burchell and J. Reid Moir.*

The object of this article is to draw attention to the precise similarity of some ornamental motifs common in Upper Palæolithic and Bronze Age times. So far as we know, such a comparison has not hitherto been made, and its interest and importance will, we think, be widely recognized.

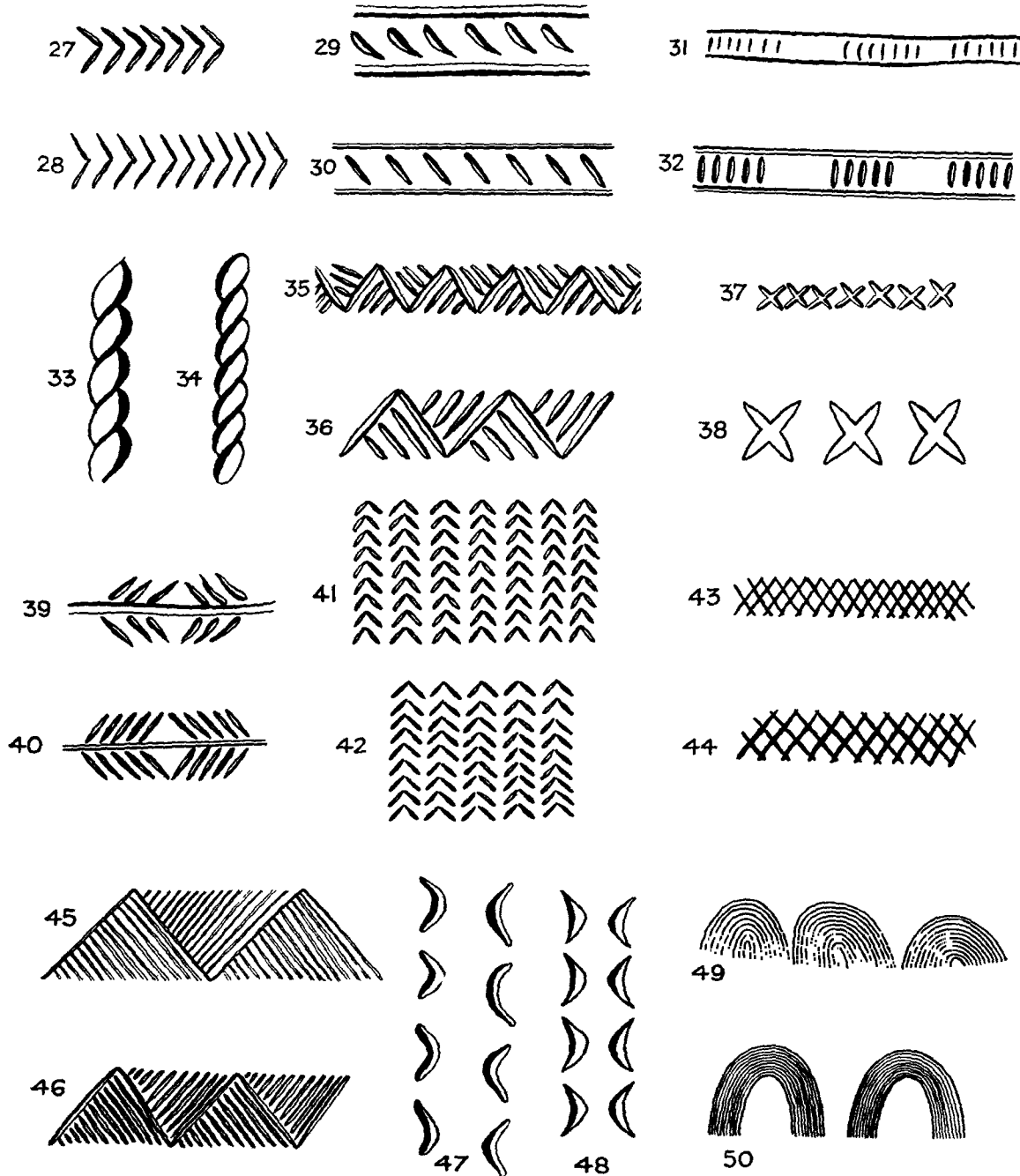
<sup>3</sup> From *aino*, river; and *setan*, witchcraft.

<sup>4</sup> See Hollis, 'Nandi,' p. 50.



The material from which the accompanying illustrations have been prepared is not the outcome of an exhaustive research, but has been collected from only five publications (three books and two papers) dealing with this subject, and the Bronze Age motifs have been selected solely from British pottery. [For references see p. 26 overleaf: odd numbers Palæolithic, even numbers Bronze Age.—ED.]

In order to make the comparisons entirely clear we have adopted the method of illustrating the ornamental motifs of Upper Palæolithic times immediately above those of the Bronze Age. The illustrations have been faithfully copied by Mr. C. O. Waterhouse of the British Museum, and they



establish the fact that many of the ornamental motifs of Upper Palæolithic and Bronze Age times are to all intents and purposes the same.

We have not, at present, any explanation to offer for this possibly significant fact, which we place before archæologists for their consideration and study. Similar resemblances may be present in the ornamental motifs of other cultures, but we desire merely to draw attention here to the similarity of those of the Upper Palæolithic and the Bronze periods.

J. P. T. BURCHELL, J. REID MOIR.

**Palæolithic Ornaments.**

1. LAUGERIE BASSE, FRANCE :—Breuil and Saint Perier, *Les poissons, batraciens, et reptiles dans l'art quaternaire*, 1927, p. 157, f. 74 (9).
3. GROTTES DU PLACARD, FRANCE :—Piette, *L'art pendant l'âge du renne*, 1907, pl. i. fig. 7A.
5. LA MADELEINE, FRANCE :—Breuil and Saint Perier, p. 122, fig. 56 (2).
7. GROTTES DES ESPÉLUNGUES, D'ARUDY, FRANCE :—Piette, lxxxv, fig. 46.
9. LAUGERIE BASSE :—Breuil and Saint Perier, p. 61, fig. 23 (19).
11. SAINT MARCEL, FRANCE :—*L'Anthropologie*, 1902, p. 155, fig. 5 (c).
13. PRĎMOST, MORAVIA :—*L'Anthropologie*, 1924, p. 535, fig. 9.
15. PRĎMOST, MORAVIA :—*L'Anthropologie*, 1924, p. 535, fig. 16 (1).
17. GROTTES DU MAZ-D'AZIL, FRANCE :—Piette, xlviii, fig. 4.
19. GROTTES DES EYZIES, FRANCE :—Breuil and Saint Perier, p. 155, fig. 72 (8).
21. BRUNIQUEL, FRANCE :—Breuil and Saint Perier, p. 66, fig. 26 (2).
23. LAUGERIE BASSE :—Breuil and Saint Perier, p. 61, fig. 23 (18).
25. LAUGERIE BASSE :—Breuil and Saint Perier, p. 157, fig. 74 (12).
27. GROTTES DES ESPÉLUNGUES, D'ARUDY, FRANCE :—Piette, lxxxv, fig. 8.
29. GROTTES DES ESPÉLUNGUES, D'ARUDY, FRANCE :—Piette, lxxxvi, fig. 2.
31. GROTTES DES ESPÉLUNGUES, À LOURDES, FRANCE :—Piette, xxii, fig. 1A.
33. GROTTES DES ESPÉLUNGUES, À LOURDES, FRANCE :—Piette, xxi, fig. 8.
35. SAINT MARCEL, FRANCE :—*L'Anthropologie*, 1902, p. 155, fig. 5. d.
37. LA MADELEINE :—Breuil and Saint Perier, p. 123, fig. 57 (10).
39. GROTTES DU MAZ D'AZIL, FRANCE :—Piette, xlix, fig. 1b.
41. PRĎMOST, MORAVIA :—*L'Anthropologie*, 1924, p. 542, fig. 22.
43. GRANDE GALERIE, BRASSEPOUY, FRANCE :—Piette, lxxix, fig. 8.
45. LA CAVERNE DU PAPE, BRASSEPOUY, FRANCE :—Piette, lxxviii.
47. GROTTES DES ESPÉLUNGUES, À LOURDES :—Piette, xxi, fig. 5.
49. PRĎMOST, MORAVIA :—*L'Anthropologie*, 1924, p. 358, fig. 18.

**Bronze Age Pottery.**

2. WEXFORD :—Abercromby, *Bronze Age Pottery*, 1912, Vol. II, pl. ciii, fig. 554.
4. ORKNEY :—II, cii, 537, cf. Essex, II, xciv, 468 (same motifs in dots).
6. EAST RIDING, YORKS :—I, xli, 197.
8. ULSTER :—I, xlix, 325.
10. UNKNOWN :—II, lxxxiv, 353.
12. TYRONE :—II, lxxxiv, 345.
14. SUFFOLK :—I, ix, 83.
16. NORTHAMPTON :—I, xxii, 296 bis.
18. LINCOLN :—II, lxvii, 72.
20. NAIRN :—I, xx, 266.
22. DUBLIN :—I, xlvii, 299.
24. DORSET :—II, lxxx, 228.
26. WILTS :—I, xxiii, 4.
28. WILTS :—II, lxiv, 33.
30. DORSET :—II, lxii, 3b.
32. WEST RIDING, YORKS :—II, lxxxii, 289.
34. THICKTHORN, DORSET :—Brit. Mus.
36. WHITBY :—Brit. Mus.
38. WEST MEATH :—I, liv, 394.
40. MIDLOTHIAN :—I, xvi, 207.
42. ELGIN :—I, lviii, 421.
44. WILTS :—II, lxxx, 222.
46. WICKLOW :—I, liv, 402.
48. DUBLIN :—I, xlv, 244.
50. KILKENNY :—II, civ, 569.

**ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE : PROCEEDINGS.****The Tribal Spirit among Educated South Africans.**

**26** *Summary of a Communication presented by Z. K. Matthews, M.A., LL.B., Headmaster of Amanzimtoti Native Secondary School, Natal. South Africa. 8th January. 1935.*

I have chosen to discuss one or two aspects of family life among educated natives in South Africa with a view to showing that the common assumption that this group is completely out of touch and sympathy with the traditions of their tribal origin is probably erroneous. My further contention is that the science of anthropology is probably losing much useful information by not enlisting the service of properly trained Africans to supplement the observations of field-workers with descriptions

of the intimate life of all types of Africans which can only be gained by living as one of them in a way in which few white investigators can.

The reasons for the past neglect of the study of the sociological problems raised by the so-called detribalized natives include the common belief that numerically they represent a negligible proportion of the population; the difficulty of studying them as they are scattered all over the country and so will not stay put, as it were, and so facilitate study; the fact that they include the most turbulent elements in the native population from the white man's point of view; the hostility aroused by their superficial resemblance of the white man in things like dress, housing, persistence in occupation,

literary education, etc. But appearances are no less deceptive in Africa than they are anywhere else, and the study of these people must be approached in the same spirit of sympathetic understanding and appreciation which is becoming the rule in the study of untouched peoples, so as to achieve the desirable result of giving a picture of native society as a whole and taking equal interest in the past, present, and future development of the society as a whole. It seems altogether unwise to attempt to drive in a wedge between this group and the so-called purely tribal native by refusing to recognize what they have in common and the contribution which the former can make and are making to native life and thought by their synthesis of Western and Native conceptions wherever they are complementary and not contradictory. This synthesis is being most successfully worked in the family life of educated natives. Even the individual who feels that for him the old political organization of the tribe does not adequately meet his modern needs and will in any case not survive the white man's interference with it, still thinks that as far as his private married life is concerned the old code need not be entirely abandoned. The man who has accepted Christianity, for example, and belongs to a Church which prohibits the giving and the taking of *lobola* is nevertheless not satisfied that the Christian wedding-ceremony alone gives sufficient validity and respectability to the marriage of his son or daughter. The husband who is willing and anxious to take his wife to a modern hospital for confinement still feels under obligation to observe at least some of the Bantu taboos connected with the pregnancy, confinement, and the nursing period of his wife. The educated man in seeking the hand of some girl in marriage still respects the prohibited degrees of marriage as laid down by his tribe in the distant past, and does not often depart in any material point from the procedure prescribed for the marital negotiations of people of good class. For example, the preliminary negotiations leading up to marriage almost invariably show the characteristic features—the circumlocutions which are of the essence of Bantu etiquette, the tantalizing delays on the part of the bride's relatives to bring matters to a head, the material demands, which must not be confused with *lobola*, the flexibility of the arrangements to suit the circumstances of the parties. Again the much-abused *lobola* custom is still very much in evidence, and both its tenacity and the various forms which it is taking to-day deserve objective study. The wedding feast is still a great feature of Southern Bantu marriages. The publicity given to weddings, the slaughtering of beasts which provides the necessary spilling of blood, the attendance of certain prominent relatives or their representatives; the traditional gifts from one side to the other; the competitive dancing and singing which have replaced the old mock fights; the copious weeping of the bride on her departure for her new home, demanded by female modesty and gratitude to her parents for her up-bringing—these features

characterize the marriages of educated as well as uneducated Africans. The home life of educated Africans—evidences of Westernization such as the use of chairs, tables, pianos, etc., notwithstanding—conforms in spirit to the old code. The relationships between husband and wife, parents and children, the position of the eldest male child in the family, that of the youngest child, the relations between brothers and sisters on examination will make us guard against the hasty generalization that there is nothing African about the home.

The strength of tribal traditions among Africans has its disadvantages as well as advantages. It helps to maintain the solidarity of the people and to give some distinctiveness to the way in which they do things. But it frequently hinders co-operation between people of different tribal origin, and retards the development and smooth working of African social, educational, and political organizations. Hence the growing movement among educated South African natives for the promotion of a larger unity which will give full place to the peculiar traditions of each tribe and yet make possible co-operation between different tribes for their mutual benefit. Education, properly conceived, far from being a detribalizing instrument, could be made the chief integrative factor between natives of all types, rural and urban, educated and uneducated, tribal and non-tribal.

#### HUMAN BIOLOGY.

**A Discussion on Methods of Description and Analysis in the Anthropometric Study of European Populations** *between Professor H. J. Fleure and Dr. G. M. Morant, 22nd June, 1934; Dr. L. S. B. Leakey in the Chair. Conventer, Miss M. L. Tildesley.* **27**

PROFESSOR H. J. FLEURE :—Descriptions of a population by the usual biometric method may be supplemented by studies of inter-regional and intra-regional diversities. Thus a study of colouring in the Isle of Man reveals the fact that blondness is commoner in certain districts known to have been specially appropriated by Norse immigrants before 1000 A.D. In view of the then small population of the island it is inevitable that any considerable element in that population should have handed on an inheritance, whether modified or not, through many strains of descent, especially in view of the fact that marriages were intensely local in most cases until recently. In the island darker people, carrying, at least in this matter, characteristics of the pre-existing population, live side by side with the blond element. This heterogeneity is characteristic of most districts in Western Europe.

It is therefore advisable to keep a unified record of all observed or measured characters for each individual. Study on these lines in Wales shows that in Cardiganshire and adjacent areas the proportion of non-blond, long-headed men is considerably in excess of that noted for north-west Wales, whereas in the latter area the proportion of non-blond, broad-headed men is greater. The treating of these two diverse regions together obscures these

points. In each of the regions both long- and broad-head elements are present. We are thus in face of a divergence in the proportions of various occurrences within populations, and descriptions on these lines must be attempted. Their historic causes may be suspected but should be stated only tentatively.

DR. G. M. MORANT compared Prof. Fleure's method of analysing his Isle of Man data with that which would be used by a biometrician. Both methods would reveal any regional differences there may be between the racial types of the populations of different districts, but the latter would take no account of differences between the samples unless it could be shown that they are greater than ones which may be supposed due to chance selection. It was suggested that samples representing very restricted districts, such as parishes, are not suitable for investigating racial problems, as each may be made up entirely, or largely, by a group of closely related individuals. The inference that part of the population of the Isle of Man has handed on a larger inheritance of Norse blood because it shows a larger proportion of blond individuals appears to be a very hazardous one. The possibility of being able to discriminate ancestral types solely from the analysis of modern populations is definitely questioned by the biometrician. The only safe way of tracing racial history seems to be to study the skeletal remains of the presumed ancestral populations and to endeavour to find what combination by inter-marriage of these could have resulted in the modern populations. It is essential to use a considerable number of characters for this purpose, as those to which greatest importance is generally attached—such as colouring, stature and the cephalic index—are usually found to be lowly correlated in the individual.

PROF. RUGGLES GATES said the methods of Professor Fleure and Dr. Morant appeared to be complementary to each other, rather than antagonistic. Local pockets of small populations having particular ancestral composition and inbred over a long period would be expected to perpetuate differences in certain characters, quite apart from errors of random sampling.

MISS M. L. TILDESLEY said that the principles which underlay the methods of biometricians were not only applicable but essential to the right interpretation of series of observations, whether these were obtained from a large population or a smaller regional one. They applied to hair-colour as well as to caliper-measurements. To interpret a divergence in the proportions of various occurrences in data obtained from different regional groups, one needed to know how much of the divergence could reasonably be ascribed to mere chance in sampling. That biometric method provided a means of estimating; this was only one of the services it rendered.

DR. L. S. B. LEAKEY said he was surprised to hear Dr. Morant suggest that there is any exact way of associating skeletal and living series. Recent research, on which a report would appear later, showed that in the case of head measurements the allowance to be made for flesh could be estimated exactly on X-ray photographs, and it was found to differ very considerably in different individuals.

DR. MORANT (in reply) said that he must have conveyed a wrong impression, as he did not believe that any exact method had yet been found of determining whether a number of skeletons and a number of living individuals represented the same race. If such a method could be found it would be a great advantage to anthropological research.

## PROCEEDINGS OF OTHER SOCIETIES.

### Films, Anthropological and Ethnological.

**28** The British Film Institute has established a Scientific Research Panel of its Advisory Council, under the chairmanship of Professor J. L. Myres, to endeavour to obtain from all possible sources information with regard to the extent to which the cinematograph has been used by scientific research workers, and to obtain details of the difficulties encountered in so doing, and the ways in which these are being met. It is further desired to compile a list of the films that have been made by individuals, especially in connexion with scientific observations and experiments, but not put into

circulation through the ordinary commercial channels.

It is therefore requested that Fellows of the Royal Anthropological Institute will be so good as to supply all information on these matters, that may be at their disposal. It will especially be appreciated, at this stage of the inquiry, if technical details are supplied as to the type of camera used, and the practical experience of field workers in obtaining accurate records by this new instrument of observation.

Communications should be addressed to the Secretary of the British Film Institute, 4, Great Russell Street, London, W.C.1.

## OBITUARY.

### Berthold Laufer : 1874-1934.

**29** Berthold Laufer was born in Cologne in 1874. He studied at Berlin and Leipzig, obtaining his Ph.D. at the latter university in 1897. He left Germany for the United States shortly after the completion of his studies. In 1898-99 he was a member of the Jesup expedition to Siberia, and in 1901 he revisited Asia, spending

the following three years in China. Very shortly after joining the staff of Field Museum he led an expedition to China and Tibet, spending two years in the field. His final visit to the Orient was in 1923, when he was leader of the Marshall Field Expedition to China.

Apart from his Oriental interests, Laufer delighted in exploring the little-trodden bypaths of anthro-

pology and history. Among these excursions into the bizarre were the tracing of the pre-history of aviation, geophagy, the rhinoceros and the giraffe in China, cormorant fishing, reindeer domestication, and the history of felt. For very many years he had been engaged in a study of the cultivated plants of the New World. This study, which he believed would be his greatest contribution to science and which he styled his life work, was unfortunately never completed.

In Laufer, the artist and the anthropologist were strangely mingled. He was numbered among the few who could appreciate both line and colour. He had, too, a deep enjoyment of the beauty in nature. For instance, it was not unusual for him to stand for long periods at his study window, watching the patterns of the falling snow-flakes. His love of beauty was revealed by his attitude toward the collection of archaic Chinese jades which he had been largely instrumental in forming. He would spend hours handling, examining and admiring each piece. When the time came for installing the collection in cases that could not be easily opened, Laufer was deeply moved. It was as though he had suffered a great personal loss. In keeping with this deep appreciation of beauty was his detestation of the spurious and the ugly. Few men could rival him in his contempt for the 'bigger and better' philosophy which has flourished, as nowhere else, in the fertile soil of Chicago.

Laufer was both generous and sympathetic. Times without number he would help those in need, or take great pains to find employment for people, even those with whom he had had little personal contact.

Out of office hours, Laufer easily threw off the cares of his position, and seemed to develop yet another side to his character. He was a charming host, possessing, as he did, that rare gift of being

able not only to tell good stories, but also to listen with interest to those of others. Like many artists, Laufer possessed a mercurial temperament, passing from a morbid pessimism into the most cheerful mood with astonishing rapidity.

Despite the many hours wasted in routine matters—for Laufer was not numbered among those who can delegate authority—he managed to complete an amazing number of publications and articles. His passing is mourned by all who had the privilege of working with him or of sharing his interests.

J. ERIC THOMPSON.

Laufer is best known in Europe for his contributions to the study of Chinese art and archaeology. His *Chinese Pottery of the Han Period* (1909) was the first serious attempt to investigate the early phases of Chinese ceramics, and it remains a standard work to this day. The large and interesting collection of Chinese tomb figures formed by Laufer himself and installed in the Field Museum, inspired another important work, *Chinese Clay Figures* (Part I. 1914). This book was made the occasion for an illuminating study of Chinese armour, which was aptly illustrated by the clay figures. *The Beginnings of Porcelain in China* (1917), written in collaboration with H. W. Nichols, is another interesting study.

But probably Laufer's *Jade* (1912) is the work by which his name will be best remembered. In this Laufer based himself on the Chinese authorities, chiefly in the writings of the archaeologist, Wu Ta-ch'eng, and the book has all the merits and defects of Chinese connoisseurship. The defects Laufer himself came to recognize, and he was preparing another edition of his *Jade* which would have had the benefit of a drastic revision. It is to be hoped that the material for this important work may yet be used.

R. L. HOBSON.

## REVIEWS.

### ARCHÆOLOGY. Palestine.

#### **The Heritage of Solomon: an Historical Introduction to the Sociology of Ancient Palestine.**

By John Garstang. London: Williams and Norgate, 1934. 8vo. xvi + 440 pp., maps and illustrations. Price 20s. net.

30

The Professor of Archæology in Liverpool University, sometime Director of the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem, enjoys first-hand acquaintance with the Near East, and his studies of Egypt, the Hittites, and Palestinian history and archæology (notably his work at Jericho), give him a command of the field such as is possessed by few. In this volume, the third of Herbert Spencer's 'Descriptive Sociology' continued by his Trustees, he surveys the sociological data from the earliest times to the reign of Solomon, intertwining a 'comparative' treatment of the material with an historical sketch of the political and other developments due to the entry of the Israelites themselves,

foreign invasions (*e.g.*, the Philistines) and wars with neighbouring countries.

Professor Garstang's account of semi-nomadic and settled societies, forms of organization, warfare, buildings, domestic life, religion and so forth, is especially interesting by reason of the use made of the results of excavation in and around Palestine. His 'comparative' account of the legal usages, too, will be found informing, and the general result is to present a picture of the external and internal circumstances during this particular period—a picture which might seem at first glance to be a reliable one. The author has expressly refrained from using other works as books of reference, "being desirous of presenting a fresh and independent aspect of the subject" (p. viii). This seems rather a pity at the present day, and it is questionable whether, for example, the ordinary reader will understand a term like the 'sadiqa' (marriage), which is left unexplained (pp. 243, 380). In any event, the student will find the excellent volume by Lods ('Israel from its



'Beginnings to the Middle of the Eighth Century') not less indispensable than Garstang's *aperçu*.

Garstang's account of the Philistines and the introduction of the Iron Age is suggestive, if only because we are made to feel that the age round about 1200 B.C. is a real landmark. But it should be remembered that Israelite tradition knew of the vessels of iron at Jericho and the iron chariots of the Canaanites, whereas the archaeologists who rightly emphasize the significance of the introduction of Iron, date the entry of the Israelites much earlier, about the fifteenth century B.C. The fact is that the biblical evidence contains discrepancies. Thus Garstang allows a gap of more than 200 years between Joseph and Moses, but the tradition that makes Joseph live to see the children of Machir, the man who took part in the Conquest (Gen. L. 23), surely implies that Joseph and Moses partly overlapped. Again, when the author follows the tradition that the Israelites had 'centuries of close contact' with Egypt before the Exodus, he ignores that of their life in the very midst of the Egyptians; and when he follows the indications that the Israelites were relatively few in number, he is rejecting those that agree with the 'canonical' tradition, which is essential to the history as a whole.

Indeed, one has only to compare the diverse 'reconstructions' of early Israelite history, which are still being issued, to see how excessively complex the problems are. There is, it is true, abundant material for the history and thought of (say) the fifteenth to twelfth centuries B.C., but both the history and the religion appear to me very differently from what they do to Professor Garstang. Moreover, the sociological evidence which he has collected from far and wide to illustrate *his* period will be welcomed by those who, like myself, perceive that it equally, if not preferably, illustrates later periods, when (a) the biblical narratives were beginning to assume their present form, and (b) there were entrances, dislocations and settlements which *must* have been scarcely less significant for the internal history of Palestine than those earlier pre-monarch-

ical events upon which the 'canonical' tradition has concentrated.

In conclusion, there is common agreement that the archaeological and monumental evidence is of the first importance, but it is often used uncritically to support a neo-conservatism, even as similar evidence could be used to justify the legends of early Rome or Britain. But when this has been said, this evidence, and in particular this volume, remains a wholesome and much-needed corrective of those all too narrow views, which think of a 'Sacred Book' rather than of the land and circumstances in which this Book took shape. S. A. COOK.

**Man's Place among the Anthropoids.** By W. K. Gregory. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1934. 8½ x 5½. 119 pp. Price 6s.

**31** Professor Wood Jones (of Melbourne University) is the author of the so-called Tarsian hypothesis, the main feature of which is the contention that Man has been derived in the phylogenetic sense from a distant ancestral tarsoid stock, and that since that time his evolution has proceeded quite independently of that of the monkeys and apes. Fifteen years ago, Wood Jones' conception was discussed in great detail at the Zoological Society of London, since when it has attracted little or no attention in this country. It seems, however, to have aroused considerable interest in America, for Professor Gregory, of the American Museum of Natural History—a prominent exponent of problems of human evolution—has published several papers in which he has critically discussed the Tarsian hypothesis. In June of last year, Gregory delivered three lectures at University College, London, in which he devoted still further attention to this matter. These lectures have now been published under the title of 'Man's Place among the Anthropoids.' Probably every anatomist and anthropologist in this country will agree that the nearest living relatives of Man among lower mammals are to be found in the anthropomorphous apes. This is also Gregory's thesis, and he elaborates it with many interesting arguments. In spite of its controversial character, this little book is thoroughly recommended to those who wish to have set out before them the fundamental morphological evidence which is relied upon for assessing the affinities of Man with other Primates.

W. E. LE GROS CLARK.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### Bow-Stand or Trident?

**32** SIR.—In MAN, 1934, 209, Mr. D. Gordon Lancaster refers to spear-like objects from the Batoka and East Loangwa Provinces of Northern Rhodesia. These, he believes, to be similar to the branched iron stands from the Nkamanga plain of Nyasaland described by Mr. T. Cullen Young, MAN, 1929, 147, cf. also J.R.A.I., lxii, 1933, and 'Notes on the History of the Tumbuka Kamanga peoples,' 1932. Of the latter Mr. Young could only tell us that they were found, together with fragments of Chinese pottery, on the grave of one Mlowoka, the chief of an immigrant race of traders believed to have invaded this part of Nyasaland after crossing the lake from the east. The iron-work is quite dissimilar to anything at present found in the district, and the objects are associated in tribal tradition with chiefly rank.

Mr. Young used the term 'trident' to describe these branched iron objects, and his article has led to corre-

spondence from places as far distant as West Africa, and to the publication of photographs of any three headed spear which seems to be used as insignia of chieftainship. As a matter of fact, the particular iron objects described and photographed by Mr. Young are, I believe, not tridents, but bow-and-arrow stands. I say this because I have found what appear to be identical stands all over the territory occupied by the Babemba on the Tanganyika plateau of North-Eastern Rhodesia and further west again among the Babisa and Baunga of Lake Bangweulu. My photo (fig. 1) shows two such stands actually in use, the sharpened points being stuck into the ground and the branching arms used for the support of bows, arrows, and in this case the chief's fly-switch as well. In earlier days, I am told, such stands might have been carried on the march, and used as bow-and-arrow rests during temporary halts or night camps. The natives refer to them as *nsakakabemba*.

If we are to trace tribal migrations in Central Africa

from the discovery of such iron bow-stands of foreign origin in different parts of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, it is important for us to know, when possible, how such objects are actually used in any definite cultural setting at the present day. Those bow-stands I found among the Babemba are definitely regarded as

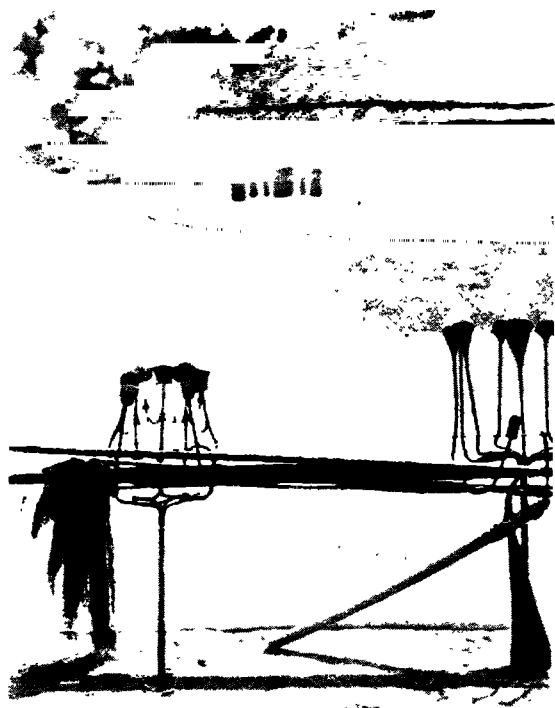


FIG. 1.

sacred relics, handed down to the successors to certain chieftainships or priestly offices. In four cases, I found such stands kept in the relic houses (*babeni*) of chiefs, and in ten cases, as far as I can remember, in the possession of certain hereditary councillors known as *bakabilo*. Such relic houses are themselves sacred, their contents secret and very carefully protected by specially appointed hereditary guardians, who perform there ceremonies for the blessing of seeds, the offering of first fruits, and other occasions of intercession to the ancestral spirits. The bow-stands illustrated were found at the court of the chief Mwamba, and were placed beside him on all ceremonial occasions, supporting his hereditary bow and *mbafi*, or ceremonial axe. But even when displayed in this way to the public gaze—perhaps in this case a modern usage—the stands might only be handled by authorized persons.

Among the Babisa and Baunga the *nsakakabemba* were also regarded as sacred objects, kept with other valuables on the graves of chiefs, as in the case of those originally found by Mr. Young in Nyasaland and by Lieut.-Col. Stephenson at Mkushi, not far from Broken Hill in Northern Rhodesia (MAN, 1930, 56), I found two such bow-stands on the graves or beneath the sacred burial-trees of chiefs, one on Cilubi Island in Lake Bangweolu, in this case with a small round iron stool (*cipuna*) about eight inches high and the barrel of an old muzzle-loading

gun, and the other in the burial ground of Nsamba, one of the Baunga chiefs.

We have to ask ourselves, therefore, why these bow-and-arrow stands seem to be universally regarded as sacred objects. First, it must be remembered that among these peoples the bow is an hereditary object handed down from brother to brother or from maternal uncles to nephew, according to the principles of matrilineal succession. It is the symbol *par excellence* of succession to the office, either of chieftainship or hereditary councillorship. In the case of the chief, the ceremony of handing over the bow to the new heir is one of the central acts of accession, and throughout his life the bow of the chief is carried by an appointed official, and kept undefiled by the touch of sexually active persons. What was true of the bow, was I believe, also true of the stand. It will be remembered that Mr. Young heard from a Yao, on the Nkamanga plain, a tradition of an iron article having branches tipped with leaves, always carried by chiefs, but hidden in a mat, and never seen by the common folk.

Further, these bow-stands are regarded as sacred, because they are definitely considered to be relics from the past. In all the three tribes I mention—Babemba, Babisa, Baunga—the natives declare emphatically that the arrow-stands came from Lubaland, from whence they trace their origin. They were carried with them, they say, on their march into their present territory some time during the beginning of the eighteenth century. It is for this reason, they assert, that the *nsakakabemba* are kept sacred in the tribal relic houses, with other objects of similar origin: and, in the case of Babisa and Baushi, placed with other valuables, such as ivory tusks, on the graves of chiefs. I do not know whether similar iron work is to be found in the Belgian Congo among the Baluba of the present day, but it is certainly true that these Northern Rhodesian tribes can no longer do such work, and apparently even before the coming of the white man, they relied very largely on the import of iron objects from the Balunda and other peoples to the west. It will be remembered that Sir Harry Johnston considers the Baluba themselves to be a product of a Hima invasion into the Congo, associated with trade in ivory, working of iron and wood carvings. (H. H. Johnston, 'George Grenville and the Congo', 1908.)

This tradition of Luba origin is interesting in the light of Mr. Young's argument, although I would not be bold enough to build hypotheses of tribal migrations on such a slender clue. In his interesting account of tribal admixture in Nyasaland Mr. Young associates the 'tridents' with the culture of an intruding trader people—the Nkamanga—of whom he considers typical 'the inauguration of a dynasty under a perpetual title and, at the death of the holder of that title, an elaborate ceremonial involving the death of both men and women, and their burial in certain positions and conventional postures along with the king in a common grave.' The Bemba chieftainship could also be described as a dynasty with a perpetual title—the Citimukulu. The burial ceremony of the Citimukulu is exceedingly elaborate, lasts over a year, and used to include the burying of human sacrifices in the chief's grave. The women described by Mr. Young as 'wives of God,' connected with worship on sacred mountains, seem to correspond to the *bamukabeni* or 'brides of the relics,' descendants of the head wives of the first Citimukulus who now hold sacred office in charge of the Babeni houses. I might add, too, that the Babemba used also to place Chinese pottery on the spirit shrines of departed chiefs.

Mr. Young also considers as characteristic of the Nkamanga peoples a type of marriage, which he calls

'compensation transfer.' He does not give enough data for us to determine how this type of marriage differs from what he calls 'the symbol-transfer marriage' of the pre-intrusion Nyasaland tribes, whom he refers to as 'family clan peoples.' We know at present very little about the marriage contracts of that large group of matrilineal peoples which stretches from the Kasai River on the west to Lake Nyassa on the East. All we can state definitely is the extraordinary range and variety of such types of marriage among these matrilineal, and (in the main), matrilocal peoples, and I for one would not be prepared to reckon these types of marriage as diagnostic of tribal affinities at the present state of our knowledge. I can simply say here, for what it is worth, that among the Babemba, marriage is, or was, matrilocal, at any rate for the first years of married life, and that the son-in-law was obliged to work for his bride's father during these years and hand over one or two bark-cloths at the time of marriage.

On the other hand, the P... matrilineal in succession, where peoples described by Mr. Young though he uses phrases which suggest that the chiefs of the conquering intruding people might formerly have succeeded according to matrilineal principle.

With such a handful of clues as we have before us, it is impossible not to speculate on the history of tribal wanderings over this part of Central Africa—impossible also not to try to go beyond the narrow limits of ascertainable facts. Were the bow-stands left behind on the Nkamanga Plain by a raiding party of Babemba from over the Northern Rhodesian border? This is apparently unlikely, since tradition describes Mlowoka as crossing Lake Nyasa from the East. Were the Nkamanga peoples one of a series of migrations from the Luba Country, travelling east from the Kasai River, passing north of the country at present occupied by the Babemba, journeying down the east bank of Lake Nyasa and finally crossing it to reach their present home in Northern Nyasaland? Or again, is it conceivable that these iron bow-stands were left behind by the early ancestors of the Baluba, who, according to Torday 'On the Trail of the Bushango' 1925, originally travelled across Central Africa from east to west, passing south of Lake Tanganyika into the Congo Basin, later to send off so many waves of invading peoples back again to the east. With such data as we have available, all such historical reconstructions must be largely hypothetical. I publish these notes in the hope that those working among the Baluba at the present day may be encouraged to send us any information they may have, as to the use of such iron bow-and-arrow stands in that area to-day.

AUDREY I. RICHARDS.

#### Pembrokeshire Folk Customs.

**33** SIR,—Through the courtesy of Mr. H. W. Evans, F.R.A.S., Harbour House, Solva, Pembrokeshire, I am able to record two customs formerly practised in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in the Solva district of Pembrokeshire.

**Pre-Burial Rite.**—In the watchnight (*gwylnos*) ceremony, held at the dead person's house the night before burial, neighbours from far and near would congregate to mourn with the relatives. The body was placed, uncoffined, on a bench in the living-room with its feet towards the fire. It was covered with a white cloth and a tin pan placed on its breast. Each visitor brought a candle, which he placed in the pan when he came in. The whole company would then unite in singing and various tales were told. About midnight, two or three persons would withdraw secretly from the company and would climb on to the roof of the house to the chimney

head. There they would let down a rope through the open chimney, at the same time shouting the phrase *Chwerwen gwdd*. One of the company would then take the end of the rope and secure it around the feet of the corpse, replying with *Chwarae'n barod* (the play is ready), and suddenly the corpse would be pulled, feet foremost, up through the chimney. The corpse was then let down as suddenly and replaced on the bench.

I am unable to offer any explanation of the meaning of *Chwerwen gwdd*, and it may be possible that the second phrase has suffered from popular etymology. At any rate, there is strong consonantal resemblance between *Chwerwen* and *Chwarae'n*.

**The use of horse-skulls to eliminate echo.**—When a chapel building was rebuilt in 1827 at Caerfarchell, near Solva, Pembrokeshire, efforts were made to eliminate the echo found in the old building. It was decided to bury a horse's skull in the floor and 'to make assurance' trebly 'sure,' three such skulls were buried in different parts of the floor. The echo disappeared.

The practice of placing bowls in walls for this purpose is, of course, well known.<sup>1</sup> IORWERTH C. PEATE.

#### Stone-Age Man in St. Helena.

**34** SIR,—Landing at St. Helena for a few hours, Mr. W. Norrie, of Cape Town, discovered a single stone implement on a slope down to the shore near the landing. The technique is certainly

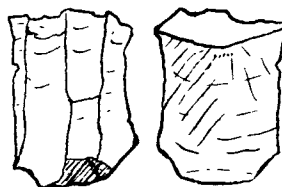


FIG. 1. STONE IMPLEMENT FROM ST. HELENA.

human, and would generally be classed as Neanthropic (plain butt, parallel flaking). There is no secondary working, and the material shows no signs of great age. The stone appears to be volcanic in origin.

As St. Helena is reputed to have been completely uninhabited when first discovered, this implement may have been either the product of a chance visit from the mainland or the artefact of a slave on the island. It is, however, possible that it is a relic of an actual prehistoric people native to the island, and further information on this point would be of value.

University, Cape Town.

A. J. H. GOODWIN.

#### Pearls as Life Givers.

**35** SIR,—Miss Durham's reference in MAN, 1935, 19, to the taking of pearls by Chinese ladies to brighten their skin and keep them youthful in appearance, has, it seems to me, a big foundation of fact to justify such a procedure.

Pearls are composed of a lime salt, closely associated with some animal product which would tend to make it more readily assimilated by the blood, of which lime forms so important a part.

Calced lime from sea shells, wrapped round with the betel nut in the betel paper leaf, is consumed by people throughout many parts of India to make up for a lack of lime in their ordinary food. It is this lack of lime in the food of the orientals that is responsible to a big extent for the lowered vitality which gives rise to the large chronic ulcers, so common in the East.

Evidently the value of calcium in the human system was appreciated by the ladies of the Chinese Court as well as by Cleopatra.

G. A. STEPHENS, M.D.

<sup>1</sup> Similar customs are noted in several letters to 'The Times' during January, 1935.—ED.





FIG. 1. KANGOONYOOK, A GIRL OF 14.  
BLOOD GROUP A.



FIG. 2. PANEPUCKACKOOK, A BOY OF 16.  
BLOOD GROUP O.



FIG. 3. PANEPAH, A WOMAN OF 38. BLOOD GROUP O.



FIG. 4. KAYAK, A BOY OF 12. BLOOD GROUP A.



FIG. 5. OOMGOOT, A MAN OF 46.  
BLOOD GROUP A.



FIG. 6. MUCKPANYOOK, A WOMAN OF 48  
BLOOD GROUP A.

**ESKIMO BLOOD GROUPS AND PHYSIOGNOMY.**

# MAN

## A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

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XXXV, 36-50

MARCH, 1935

### ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

#### Anthropology : Physical.

#### With Plate C.

Ruggles Gates.

**Eskimo Blood Groups and Physiognomy.** *By Prof. R. Ruggles Gates, F.R.S.*

In 1931 a Canadian Government Arctic Expedition to Baffinland was supplied by me with serum for blood grouping. This was obtained through the kindness of Messrs. Park, Davis & Co. and St. Mary's Hospital, but unfortunately the serum was lost in an accident after only 11 natives had been tested. These tests were made by Dr. L. D. Livingstone at Pond Inlet, in Lat. nearly 73° N., on natives who were regarded as "practically full blooded Eskimo." Of the 11 persons tested, 7 were O and 4 were A. 36

It appears from previous work in blood grouping that Eskimos and most American Indian tribes of pure blood belong mainly if not entirely to O, and that the presence of A is therefore a sign of mixture with European blood. This subject was more fully discussed in a recent paper in *Journ. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.*, lxiv, 1934, pp. 23-44 on the Indians of British Columbia and their origin.

I have received from Dr. Livingstone, through the courtesy of the Department of the Interior, Ottawa, photographs of six of the natives whom he tested, together with their names. Inspection of these photographs shows that they are clearly not all of pure blood. Mr. J. Lorne Turner, of the Dominion Lands Board, points out that the natives of Pond Inlet travel southwards (especially in winter) to Igloodik and Repulse Bay, where they formerly associated with whaling ships about Roes Welcome, whose crews included men of many races. It is evident that in this way a considerable amount of white blood was introduced into the Eskimos of this region, who are nevertheless commonly regarded as of pure blood.

These photographs (figs. 1-6) have been shown to several friends at different times, some of them anthropologists and some not biological at all, and they were asked, without knowing the blood groups, to decide which were pure-blooded Eskimos and which were mixed. Their conclusions were surprisingly near unanimity. They almost without exception selected Figs. 2 and 3 as pure-blooded, and concluded that the rest were mixed. Some, however, were uncertain about Fig. 6 or concluded that she was Eskimo. One, who is familiar with Canadian Indians, concluded at once, as I did myself, that Fig. 6 had Indian ancestry. I had already arrived at the conclusion that Figs. 1, 4 and 5 had white blood.

It will be seen that this distinction coincides with a difference in the blood-groups, since Figs. 2 and 3 are O and the rest A. Fig. 6, whose sex is rather problematical from the photograph, was a woman of 48. Her Indian ancestor probably obtained his A through an early cross with a white man. Fig. 1 appears to be half-Eskimo, cf. Gates, *Heredity in Man*, fig. 74, p. 337. Fig. 4 is probably more than half European. Fig. 5 clearly shows European ancestry in his eye characters (no eye-fold) and his beard.

One striking fact which emerges from these photographs is that while the two individuals evidently of pure blood are both O, the four of mixed ancestry are all A. The blood groups can therefore be used as confirmatory evidence of crossing, clearly confirming the indications derived from physiognomy. It may be pointed out that a European who has the A blood group is more likely to be heterozygous than homozygous for A. Any white man who is heterozygous for A

would have an equal chance of transmitting to his offspring, in a cross with an Eskimo, the genes for European features combined with either blood group A or O. One must conclude that while crosses between a white father who was heterozygous for A, and an Eskimo woman, would in many cases be expected to produce a child of O blood group combined with some European features, yet on the other hand the presence of A in the offspring can be taken as confirming the evidence from physiognomy that a cross has taken place.

R. RUGGLES GATES.

### Culture : Statistics.

Morant.

**Cultural Anthropology and Statistics ; a one-sided review of 'Sex and Culture.'**<sup>1</sup> By Dr. G. M. Morant.

**37** Casual readers of the literature of cultural anthropology must often have asked themselves whither it is leading. They will be familiar, on the one hand, with studies which deal solely with the description of different aspects of the social life of groups considered individually. The standardization of the technique used in the compilation of these records is obviously desirable, for they aim—it would now generally be conceded—at a scientific (*i.e.* an exact and impersonal) rather than at a literary end. On the other hand, the cultural anthropologist is concerned with the comparison of different social groups, and it will usually be not their features as a whole which are treated, but one particular topic or group of topics, such as an artifact or marriage rites. What method is used, or is being developed—the outsider may ask himself—which will render the synthesizing of the material more scientific? The discovery of general laws and the tracing of social evolution must be the ultimate aims of the investigator in this field, though the mere accumulation of facts may appear, at present, to be a matter of greater practical importance. Too often, it would seem, the comparisons between different communities are made from a literary point of view, such as that of most historians, which gives too loose a rein to the personal predilections of the writer. One may admire his erudition, and the skill with which his arguments are presented, but tangible and indisputable results are, after all, the things most needed, even if they are presented in treatises which make less pleasant reading. The use of distribution maps is one objective method which may be employed in the study of social phenomena. There is another which appears to have found little favour among the specialists.

In 1867 Herbert Spencer conceived the idea of 'making tabulated arrangements of historical data, showing the co-existence and succession of social phenomena of all orders.' This resulted in the *Descriptive Sociology* of which the last volume was published in 1934. It may be doubted whether the general appreciation of the strenuous co-operative labour involved in the compilation of this work has been at all commensurate with the hopes of its originator. The method of tabulation has often been criticized and it probably appeals to few anthropologists to-day. Unfortunately it fails to satisfy some requirements which were better appreciated by the next notable English contributor to this problem of systematic inquiry. In 1888 Edward B. Tylor read a paper<sup>2</sup> to the Anthropological Institute, opening with a remark which cannot be supposed to have lost all its significance if applied to the situation to-day. "For years past," he said, "it has become evident that the great need of anthropology is that its methods should be strengthened and systematised." The paper is entitled: "On a Method of Investigating the Development of Institutions; applied to Laws of Marriage and Descent." The method consisted in tabulating and classifying "the evidence found among between three and four hundred peoples, ranging from insignificant savage hordes to great cultured nations." It differed from Herbert Spencer's in making possible statistical reduction of the material collected. Diagrams illustrating the distribution and association of various customs were given, but the original data were not published then, or since, and without them it is impossible either to verify or extend the results reached. Speaking from the Chair after Tylor's lecture, Francis Galton is reported to have said that he "thought that the degree of interdependence, to which the various degrees of exceptional frequency testified, might with advantage be expressed in terms of a scale, in which 0 represented perfect independence, and 1 complete concurrence." He also remarked :

<sup>1</sup> *Sex and Culture*. By J. D. Unwin. Oxford University Press, 1934. Pp. xxiv, 676. Price 36s.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. xviii, pp. 245-272.

“ It may be, that some of the tribes had derived them [the customs] from a common source, so that they were duplicate copies of the same original. Certainly, in such an investigation as this, each of the observations ought, in the language of statisticians, to be carefully ‘ weighted.’ It would give a useful idea of the distribution of the several customs and of their relative prevalence in the world, if a map were so marked by shadings and colour as to present a picture of their geographical ranges.”

Tylor’s statistical method does not seem to have evoked much enthusiasm and the next English publication in which it is used appears to be *The Material Culture and Social Institutions of the Simpler Peoples*.<sup>3</sup> The two difficulties to which Galton referred are evidenced again in this study. One of them concerns the definition of the social groups represented as unit ‘ individuals’ in the tabulation, and the discounting, if possible, of the factor of geographical position, *i.e.*, in a general way, of the effect of cultural contact. The authors discuss this question, but it cannot be supposed that they provide a satisfactory solution of it. The other difficulty concerns the need for a graduated scale representing the degree of association between two variates, *i.e.* features of the social complex, compared. The perfect correlation of any two is not to be expected unless they are obviously connected intimately owing to the ways in which they are defined, and a complete lack of association may also be expected to be exceptional. Some degree of association lying between these extremes seems to be indicated by most comparisons, and a quantitative measure of this degree of correlation is what is required. Professor Karl Pearson provided a solution of this problem, as he has of many other problems propounded by Francis Galton, in a memoir published in 1900 : “ On the Correlation of Characters not Quantitatively Measurable.”<sup>4</sup> The theory of contingency developed by Professor Pearson in later memoirs is precisely that which is needed by the social statistician and it has, in fact, been applied to many social data, though not, apparently, to any supplied by cultural anthropologists. The criterion which has been used to measure the degree of association between the eye colours of father and sons, or between the health of children and the conditions of their homes, can be used equally well to investigate such a question as the degree of association between the ways in which prisoners are treated and whether, or not, some kind of post-funeral attention is paid to the dead in primitive societies. The variates need not be capable of quantitative measurement, but one essential condition is that the different categories of the same variate adopted should be mutually exclusive. In the case of a good deal of anthropological data the best categories to adopt appear to be those which merely indicate the presence or absence of a particular custom in each society. Such a bipartition is adequate for purposes of statistical analysis, and it is for the cultural anthropologist to decide which characters can be most profitably considered, and to tabulate the evidence relating to them. The chief danger here would seem to be the assumption that a particular custom was not practised by a particular society because there is no mention of it in the literature, but Fergusson’s erroneous dating of megalithic monuments should give sufficient warning of this pit-fall. If provided with data of the kind described, the statistician can calculate the degree of association between any two cultural characters; but the interpretations of these correlations in terms of causation would be the concern of the anthropologist and, owing to the nature of the material, this would be far from a straightforward matter. In considering it, a ‘ correction ’ for the uncertain factor of cultural contact would have to be made, but it is not inconceivable that this might be done ultimately by obtaining some numerical measure of the extent to which customs have been passed on from one society to another.

The first step in inquiries of this kind is the tabulation of suitable data, and while these are so imperfect it is impossible to explore the possibilities of the method. The most recent contribution to the subject is Dr. J. D. Unwin’s *Sex and Culture* (1934), and the present review of it is concerned mainly with the statistical aspect of the material he discusses. The purpose of his inquiry must be examined first. He explains in the preface that it was

“ to test, by a reference to human records, a somewhat startling conjecture that had been made by the

<sup>3</sup> By L. T. Hobhouse, G. C. Wheeler, and M. Ginsberg. The first edition was published in 1915 and it was re-printed in 1930.

<sup>4</sup> “ Mathematical Contributions to the Theory of Evolution. VII.” *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, series A, vol. 195, pp. 1-47.



“ analytical psychologists. This suggestion was that if the social regulations forbid direct satisfaction  
 “ of the sexual impulses the emotional conflict is expressed in another way, and that what we call  
 “ ‘ civilization ’ has always been built up by compulsory sacrifices in the gratification of innate desires.”

The psychologists are said to have reached this conclusion solely from their study of mental disturbance and without reference to cultural data. Dr. Unwin says that he intended to test the hypothesis concerning the building up of civilization, which they were led to formulate on purely *a priori* grounds. His main problem was to investigate whether there is any association between the cultural stages reached by different societies and the regulations regarding sexual gratification which are enforced in them. A more direct way of testing the inference of the psychologists would be to determine the association between the cultural status and the sexual regulations exhibited by the *same* society at different periods of its history, and this question is also considered in *Sex and Culture*. In these, as in many other anthropological questions, it is of the utmost importance to make a clear distinction between the intra-group and the inter-group problems. The psychologists may be absolutely justified in their conclusion, in so far as individuals are concerned, but it by no means follows that the stage of civilization reached by a society is hence necessarily conditioned by the laws enforced in it regarding sexual behaviour. It is easy to assume that the inference from the observed relation is as valid as the latter, but the process can easily be shown to be fallacious. In the present case we may imagine that cultural advances are due to a few outstanding individuals who are not influenced in the same way as other people by the sexual regulations of the society in which they live or that owing to some extraneous impulse, such as war, the laws of a society may be changed while its cultural status is not altered. A knowledge of the intra-group situation, however complete, can never justify the corresponding inter-group hypothesis. The two questions ought to be investigated separately and it is at least known from some special cases in physical anthropology which can be examined statistically that the intra- and inter-racial situations may be entirely different.<sup>5</sup> Dr. Unwin is really concerned with the inter-group problem, and if he had concluded—as he does not—that there is no association between the variates dealt with when the unit considered is the community, this fact would not have disproved, or by itself have given any ground for questioning, the theory of the psychologists regarding individuals: neither is it clear that the conclusion imagined would have entirely disproved their hypothesis regarding the building up of civilization. His inquiry should at least throw light on the latter problem.

The nature of the data dealt with may now be considered. It is clear that the value of any results reached will depend on the accuracy with which the facts used are collected and classified. On these questions the reviewer is not qualified to pass an opinion. Tabulation of the evidence is only attempted in the case of 80 ‘ uncivilized ’ societies—a much smaller number, it may be noted, than the three to four hundred used by Tylor, who must have included a large number for which the evidence is far from adequate even to-day. The greater part of Dr. Unwin’s book is concerned with these, but

<sup>5</sup> An intra-racial problem is defined to be one for which the unit is the individual and the ‘ sample ’ is made up by a number of individuals belonging to the same race. It may be asked, for example, what the intra-racial association is between the maximum length and maximum breadth of the head. This has been investigated for numerous samples representing different races and most of the correlations found are of the order — 0·5, which indicates that an individual with a longer head also tends to have a broader head than the average for the race. This problem is of the same nature as that of the psychologist who asks what the association is in the individual between the suppression of innate desires and ‘ mental energy,’ or social value, in the case of a group of individuals belonging to the same society. The last may be called an intra-group problem. An inter-racial problem is one for which the unit is the race and the sample is made up by a number of racial types. It may be asked, for example, what the inter-racial association

is between the maximum length and maximum breadth of the head, and the data required are the mean values of the measurements for a number of different racial types. This has also been investigated for different groups of races and the correlation is found to be of the order — 0·5, which indicates that the longer types tend to be the narrower, so the relationship between the measurements is here quite different from that which holds in the case of individuals, and the one result could not have been deduced from the other. The anthropologist who asks what the association is between the cultural status and sexual regulations of different societies is dealing with a problem, similar in nature to an inter-racial problem, which may be called an inter-group, or inter-society, problem. It will be fallacious to assume that intra-group results will also hold for inter-group material: problems of the two kinds must be investigated separately, since different conditions apply to them.

data for civilized societies are discussed in the last chapter. He repeatedly complains of the inadequacy of a great deal of the anthropological literature for his particular purpose. Any primitive society from any part of the world was included if the particulars required concerning it could be found in a sufficiently precise form. The writer contends that it is impossible to classify uncivilized societies according to the beliefs of their members, and hence rites only are used for this purpose. The cultural condition of a society is determined by considering answers to the question: What steps are taken to maintain a right relation with the powers which manifest themselves in the universe? Four patterns of culture are distinguished based on this test of behaviour. Three of these are:

1. the *deistic*, recognized by the fact that temples are built,
2. the *manistic*, at which stage no temples are built but some kind of post-funeral attention is paid to the dead,
3. the *zoistic*, characterized by the absence of temples and by the fact that no kind of post-funeral attention is paid to the dead.

It is emphasized that intense variety is found within these cultural patterns. The classification has two features which are desirable for statistical purposes, since the categories are mutually exclusive and they show a gradation from the zoistic to the deistic stage, beyond which is the so-called 'rationalistic' for which no data are tabulated. Of the 80 primitive societies 10 are classed as deistic, 23 as manistic and the remaining 47 as zoistic.

Having presented the definitions of the cultural stages he adopts, Dr. Unwin proceeds to explain how he was led to distinguish them and the evidence considered is presented in tabular form. A temple is defined as: "A roofed building, other than a grave-house, in which the power in the universe manifests itself and which is specially erected and maintained in order that a right relation may be preserved with that power, the building being such that a man can stand upright inside it." The treatment of affliction, methods of weather control and post-funeral rites are topics especially considered with reference to the two facts—the existence of temples and the absence of post-funeral attention paid to the dead—which are used to distinguish the three cultural stages. The 'Chart of Evidence' (pp. 618–619) greatly facilitates comparison of the data, and from it some appreciation of the association of certain factors with geographical position can be obtained, though this point is not considered in *Sex and Culture*. Three of the columns (Nos. 3, 5 and 7) have entries which are not necessarily associated with the cultural stages. Entries are either *plus* or *minus* signs: the former indicates the presence of the particular feature, and the minus sign is unfortunately used for two purposes. It may denote 'either that the evidence is indecisive or that according to our present information the rite was irregular.' Owing to this method of classification, it is impossible to make any exact statistical analysis of the data in the three columns as they stand, but we may suppose, for a moment, that the plus and minus signs denote alternative conditions. There are 19 American zoistic societies having entries in all three of the columns 3, 5 and 7. In 18 of these cases the entries are of the same pattern. For the 13 zoistic societies outside America, having entries in all three columns, 7 have the same pattern as that common to nearly all the American societies, while the remaining 6 have different patterns. There is at least a suggestion that any conclusion reached regarding the degrees of association existing between pairs of these variates will depend on which group of societies is considered. It *may* be that there is an almost perfect association for America considered alone, but little correlation for the whole world, or for the world with the exception of America. However this may be, it is clear that the factor of geographical proximity ought to be considered in inquiries of this kind, for the effects of the diffusion of culture cannot be neglected. It may be possible to neglect such considerations in one case only: if there is a perfect correlation between two cultural traits for all societies in the world, then while dealing with these two alone it will not matter whether the 'sample' of societies dealt with is taken from the world population, or only from some special part of the whole, such as a particular continental area.

The main purpose of the author of *Sex and Culture* was to examine the relationship between the stages of culture of different societies and the regulations regarding sexual intercourse observed in them. In classifying the latter factor he considers, but does not adopt, post-nuptial regulations, and uses three categories of 'pre-nuptial chastity': (a) sexual freedom, (b) regulations imposing an

irregular or occasional continence, and (c) insistence on pre-nuptial chastity. Each of the 80 societies was assigned to one or other of these categories and it was then found that all the zoistic societies had been classed (a) all the manistic (b) and all the deistic (c). Anyone who had asserted that such a perfect correlation existed before examining the evidence in detail would have stood small chance of being credited, but the conclusion is now indisputable if the fact that the evidence has been correctly presented be accepted.

Dr. Unwin presents this, his main result, in the first chapter of his book and he promises there to give an explanation of why "the association of pre-nuptial chastity and the worship of gods in temples" is not only rational but also apparently inevitable." Before turning to his explanation it is well to remember that correlation, even if perfect, is not causation. Neither factor in the present case need necessarily be considered as the *cause* of the other. A moment's consideration will show that several other explanations of the observed relation can be imagined. Both factors, for example, might be supposed conditioned by a third, such as economic status, or racial mentality. Our author is alive to such possibilities but they are dismissed from consideration in a somewhat cursory way. It is said (p. 236) :

"It may be urged, particularly by those whose temperaments are opposed to the meaning of our induction, that there is another reason why it is not enough to demonstrate the accompaniment of specific variations of *A* by specific variations of *B*. It may be said that we ought to show also that these variations of *B* are not produced by other factors. This, however, would be a reversal of the scientific method. We must argue from what we know, not from what we do not know. If other factors are said to be concomitant with the variations of *B*, the evidence of their existence must be presented, before they can be included in the discussion."

It is perfectly true that we ought to argue from what is known, but this consideration should not discount the possible importance of what is not known. Further direct evidence may be of far more value than the most acute induction based on the evidence available already. It appears to the reviewer to be at least probable that no complete solution of the problem in terms of cause and effect will be reached until many other factors are considered in relation to it, and a denial of this appears to be 'a reversal of the scientific method.'

It would be unfair to attempt to summarize in a few words the rather lengthy discussion which follows. Its purpose is to reach a complete explanation of the observed situation without appealing to any additional evidence other than certain conclusions reached by psychologists. The argument proceeds under the following headings. The culture of all primitive societies is said to have a common basis in the 'conception of the strange quality or power manifest in anything unusual or beyond comprehension.' In a zoistic society this quality is the power in the universe and exceptional men are credited with its possession. They are forgotten immediately after death, however, and societies in which this occurs are at 'a dead level of conception.' At the next stage—the manistic—the conditions are similar, but the continuation after death of the attention paid to outstanding citizens indicates an extension of memory, thought, and reflection. A further transition of the same kind, indicating increased mental energy, is evidenced by the deistic societies which pay more long-continued and elaborate attentions to their illustrious dead. A change from one type of social behaviour to another is supposed to have occurred as a result of a change of ideas, and cultural advance is the outward sign of a change in 'mental energy.' 'The factor responsible for the change, therefore, must have been one which intensified thought, reflection and social energy.' The change in mental energy is not supposed to have been evidenced by all members of a particular society to the same extent. An explanation of it will obviously be of considerable interest. After this preliminary excursus, Dr. Unwin returns to the consideration of his main problem, which can now be stated in a different way, since cultural differences may be expressed in psychological terms. "Is there any causal relationship between the compulsory continence and the thought, reflection and energy which produced the change from one cultural condition to another?" It is first contended (p. 301) that :

"One thing is certain : if a causal relation exists, the continence must have caused the thought, not the thought the continence. There is no possibility, for instance, that the thought which produced the cultural advance was responsible for the reduction of sexual opportunity. This is important"—but not quite certain, it would appear, in spite of the arguments brought forward to support it and

when we are thinking in terms of individuals; still less certain when it is remembered that the problem really concerns social groups and not individuals. At this point we seem to have lost sight of the distinction, which it is vital to maintain, between the discussion of the intra-group and inter-group situations. The next step taken illustrates this point, since it implies that the question must be settled by psychologists, not social anthropologists, so that intra-group evidence is supposed capable of leading to a solution of an inter-group problem. Writings of psycho-analysts are appealed to in order to show that a reduction of sexual opportunity leads to the production or intensification of thought, reflection, and social energy—in the individual.

The argument is now complete and the final conclusions are best given in the writer's own words (p. 320) :

“ Although, therefore, I tend to regard a limitation of sexual opportunity as the immediate cause of social energy, I am content to conclude that it is the cause of social energy only in the sense of being an indispensable contributory factor; that is to say, even if other factors also are indispensable and operating, no social energy can be displayed unless the sexual opportunity is limited. Other things being equal, however, social energy will be exhibited by any society which places a compulsory limitation upon the sexual opportunity of its members. Conversely, in all cases, any extension of sexual opportunity must result in a reduction of social energy.”

In other words, a limitation of sexual opportunity is a direct cause of social energy, but not necessarily the sole factor determining social energy. In a later section (p. 340) the word ‘ caused ’ is avoided and ‘ conditioned by ’ is used instead, but if the usual meanings are attached to the words it is clear that an observed correlation is being interpreted in terms of cause and effect. In the last chapter this conclusion is discussed with reference to the historical records of several civilized societies, including the Anglo-Saxon and English, but we are already sufficiently far removed from that statistical evidence with which this review is primarily concerned.

In establishing a perfect correlation between the cultural status and sexual regulations of the primitive societies with which he deals, Dr. Unwin has made a notable contribution to social anthropology. This result is beyond question if the classification of the data made be accepted. He does not point out that the statistical method employed is capable of much wider extension, and by treating other cultural factors in the same way more light would almost certainly be thrown on the particular problem with which he is concerned. Instead of discussing this possibility, he attempts to reach a complete interpretation of the observed association in terms of cause and effect by a process of ratiocination which is not likely to lead to a decisive conclusion. In the reviewer's opinion the weak points in this argument are, firstly, that several factors which would be expected to throw light on the problem are not considered, and, secondly, that in appealing to psychological evidence the distinction between the intra-group and inter-group situations is not recognized. The explanation of the observed relation offered is given in psychological terms which apply to individuals: it appears that one should be sought for which can be stated in terms of social factors. The discovery of correlation is a definite achievement and it is not to be expected, in these matters, that any interpretation of the observed correlation in terms of causation will follow immediately.

G. M. MORANT.

### Culture : Statistics.

Unwin.

Reply to Dr. Morant's “ Cultural Anthropology and Statistics.” By Dr. J. D. Unwin.

Dr. Morant was kind enough to send me the MS of the above review before it was printed. I should not propose, even if I were asked, to submit counter-arguments to his suggestions, especially as he makes it plain that what he says is definitely one-sided; but he makes some important methodological points on which some comments seem appropriate.

I used the statistical method because it seemed best suited for my purpose; and I agree with Dr. Morant that it might well be more commonly employed. When it is used, so much can be said in so little space. At the same time it is vital, I think, to remember the shortcomings of the evidence we handle. The value of anthropological data is extremely uneven. Indeed, in my study of uncivilized peoples, I found the quality of some of the evidence to be such that, as Dr. Morant points out, I had to use the minus signs in Cols. 2-7 to denote (1) the reported absence of a rite, (2) inadequate evidence in regard to the rite. The trouble was that, even when a writer said or implied that a rite was not

conducted, I could seldom be certain that the statement was based on exhaustive inquiries. In some cases a rite was reported or implied to have been absent, but its alleged absence sometimes appeared to be due to incomplete knowledge or inquiries on the part of the observer. Thus I could not regard the negative evidence in Cols. 2-7 as sufficiently reliable to be used as the basis of an inductive argument. The evidence contained in Cols. 8-11, was of finer quality, and could be so used.

Anyone that uses the statistical method in the study of human affairs must be prepared, I think, to appraise his evidence in the same way as I attempted to appraise the evidence presented in Cols. 2-7. Such appraisal is additional to the ordinary appraisal that must always be conducted before any evidence can be permitted to enter into a discussion.

I do not agree that the association between the variates may depend on which group of societies is considered. At first I thought this was possible, but further inquiries revealed that the coincidences held good for all geographical areas.

The distinction between inter-group and intra-group evidence, which Dr. Morant is careful to draw, is valuable in some researches, but in cultural anthropology it is vitiated by the nature of a human society. Dr. Morant seems to think that a society is merely a collection of individuals. That seems to be untrue, and he cannot point to such a one. It would be as true to say that a chemical substance is a mere collection of electrons and protons. Both water and coal consist of electrons and protons, but they differ from one another because in them the electrons and protons are arranged differently. Water is water because of its structure, and consists of electrons and protons in a certain relation to one another, first in the atoms, then in the molecules. The event called 'water' emerges from the nature of the arrangement. So also a human society is not a collection of males and females but of human groups, in which males and females, or males only, or females only, stand in a certain relation to one another: and human societies differ from one another because in them the groups differ and are arranged differently. But water is also water because of its state of energy, and differs from steam because it is subject to the influence of less energy; the distance between the molecules is governed by the amount of this energy. So also a human society is not merely a collection of human groups but a collection of human groups in a certain state of energy; and the amount of this energy governs not only the behaviour of each group but also the cultural distance between the groups.

By using the word 'group' to denote both a society and a human molecule Dr. Morant has confused what must always be distinguished. Psychologists have made certain conjectures concerning what they have called individual behaviour, but the behaviour they study is not really individual behaviour but group or molecular behaviour, of which most individual behaviour is a mere reflection. A society is not comparable to a race or to any other aggregation of human beings: it is like a chemical substance, unique, itself, and nothing else. In social anthropology there is not, and from the nature of the case there cannot be, any intra-group evidence of the kind that Dr. Morant hypothesizes; and what he calls inter-group evidence is really inter-society evidence.

But I think Dr. Morant is right to pull me up about the word 'cause.' I used it, tried to define it, toyed with it, and finally discarded it. Perhaps it would have been wiser to have refrained from using it at all and at the outset to have stated my suggestions in the manner I finally employed, by using illustrations. In my view (and I only hold this view because the evidence has compelled me to do so) sexual opportunity is related to an outburst of social energy (as defined) as heat to the steam that issues from a kettle. But there is a distinct possibility that some human societies are biologically unfitted to display social energy. Should they be so fitted, however, the amount of their energy is related to their sexual opportunity as the temperature of the water in a kettle is related to the heat applied to the kettle.

JOSEPH D. UNWIN.

#### Africa: East.

**A Pogoro Flute.** *By A. T. Culwick.*

**Culwick.**

**39** The three-stop flute (Fig. 3) which has been sent to the British Museum, was made by a hunch-backed Pogoro medicine-man who lives in the foothills of the Mahenge Massif, Tanganyika Territory. Its owner and maker played it to me, and considering that it has only three stops he produced a surprising variety of effects. Sometimes he played it in the normal manner

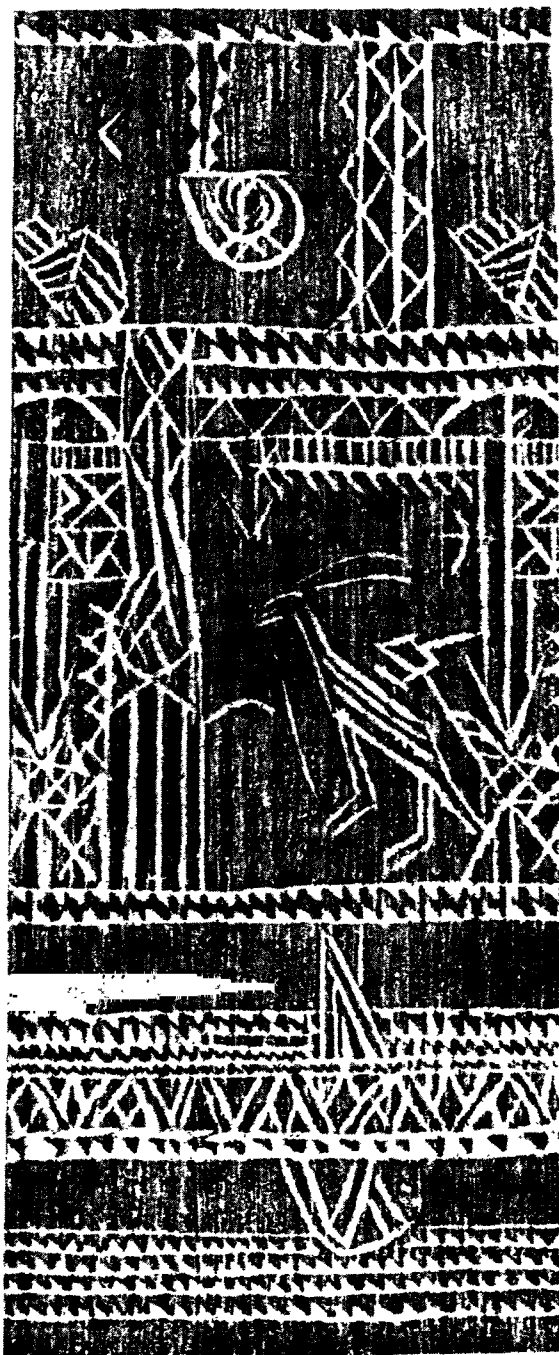


FIG. 1. DESIGNS CARVED ON POGORO FLUTE.

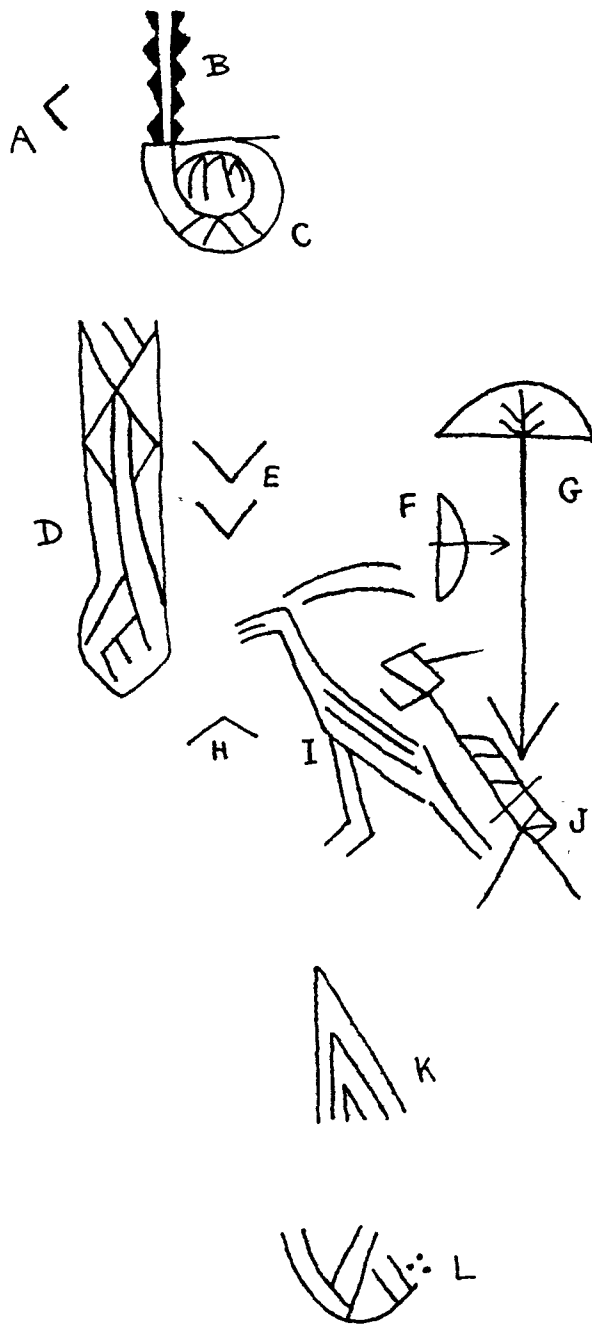


FIG. 2. (Key to Fig. 1).

with lips together, sometimes he sang into it with his lips placed in the position for singing 'oo' as in 'loop.'

The flute is elaborately carved and the old man proudly explained the meaning of the various designs, which have been reproduced as a rubbing (Fig. 1). It was obvious from his descriptions that the designs fall into two groups, one of which he called 'pictures' and the other 'signs.' The central design, a sable antelope (Fig. 2, I), the human figure (Fig. 2, J) behind it, the bows and arrows (Fig. 2, F and G), and the large shell *konokono* (Fig. 2, C) are all fairly easily recognizable and belong to the class of pictures. So do the chevrons (Fig. 2, E and H), which depict the cicatrization of the Wangindo, a neighbouring tribe, from one of whom the medicine-man learned how to construct, ornament and play the flute.

The chevron A, however, has a different significance, for it is not a 'picture' at all but a 'sign' for the crescent moon, and so comes within the second group. The other 'signs' are the footprints of the marabout stork (Fig. 2, B), a monitor lizard (Fig. 2, D), an arrow (Fig. 2, K) and the red forest duiker (Fig. 2, L).

Both the Wangindo, from whom the old man learned the meaning of the signs, and his own tribe, the Wapogoro, are extremely primitive, and it was, therefore, somewhat surprising to hear him make this clear distinction between pictures of things and signs for things. For instance, pointing to Fig. 2, I, he said in Kiswahili, "This is a picture (*sanamu*) of a sable," but of Fig. 2, L, he said, "This is the sign (*alama*), meaning a duiker." When asked why he chose to represent some things pictorially and others by conventional signs, he merely replied with a smile, "I liked it like that," which explains everything!

A. T. CULWICK.

#### Africa, South: Archæology.

Peers.

The Ancient Monuments Act (1934) of the Union of South Africa. By Sir Charles

40 Peers, F.B.A., F.S.A., late Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments.

The new Ancient Monuments Act of the Union of South Africa, to be known as the 'Natural Historical Monuments Relics and Antiques Act, 1934,' is in itself a valuable addition to current legislation, and one on which the Government are to be congratulated. In the nature and extent of control aimed at, it is framed on familiar lines, but the fact that it is intended to protect scenery and natural objects as well as such things as have been constructed by man gives it very far-reaching application. As regards time-limits the provision is also an ample one. Anything connected with any people who inhabited or visited South Africa before the advent of the Europeans can be brought under the Act, though the precise meaning of the term 'advent' is not stated, and we are left in doubt whether Portuguese explorers or Dutch settlers are intended. Moreover any movable object of any sort, which can be held to be of aesthetic, historical, archæological or scientific value or interest, or the more valuable part of such object, can be brought under the Act if it, or its more valuable part, has been more than one hundred years in any part of the Union, or if it has been made therein more than one hundred years ago. The methods of administration appear to be as follows.

Executive power is placed in the hands of the Minister of the Interior, or any other Minister of State acting in his stead. The existing Commission for the preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments in the Union is to be continued under the name of the Commission for the preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques, and the existing members of the Commission are to continue in office, subject to such regulations as the Minister shall make under section 12 of the Act. No definite limit to the number of the members is fixed, except that seven is the minimum, and the Minister may appoint new members at his own discretion. He may also determine the period of



FIG. 3.  
POGORO FLUTE.

office of the members, and define the qualifications for membership. Members are not to be paid, but may receive travelling and subsistence allowances at rates prescribed by the Minister. These allowances are to be drawn from the funds of the Commission, which are to consist of grants, donations, fees and annual subscriptions, the amount and sources of which are not specified in the Act.

The functions of the Commission, broadly speaking, are to carry out the provisions of the Act subject to the approval of the Minister, but it is to be noted that their work is specifically divided into two classes, permissive and mandatory. They are bound to carry out any investigation required by the Minister, and equally bound to make him a yearly report, together with a register of everything proclaimed, or as we should say scheduled, by the Minister under the Act. For the rest, they are empowered, though not specifically directed, to exercise a series of functions, the essential one being the preparation of a list of objects which are considered proper for proclamation. This list the Minister may from time to time publish in the Gazette, thus giving it official force, but it does not appear that the Commission's recommendations are necessarily binding on the Minister, nor that he need give effect to them within a definite time. Nor is it stated whether he can act independently of the Commission in the matter of proclamations, if he so desires. The other functions of the Commission relate to the acquisition by purchase or otherwise, the control, maintenance, and protection of monuments, relics or antiques, and for this purpose they are empowered, if funds are available, to employ a secretary and such other servants as may be necessary for the carrying out of their functions. It is to be presumed, though it is nowhere so stated, that only monuments which have been duly proclaimed can be dealt with in these ways. For the purposes of the Act, the Commission are to be a body corporate, capable in law of suing and being sued and of dealing with property like any other corporation.

One month's notice of the intention to recommend the proclamation of any monument is to be given by the Commission to the owner, who may thereupon lodge with the Commission any objections he may wish to make.

Penalties are provided for the contravention of the Act, but owners have no claim to compensation for any loss arising from its effects.

It is evident that it is expected that the Commission, an unpaid body dependent on the Minister, will carry out the provisions of the Act, including the maintenance, repair, and administration of all proclaimed monuments. It is also to regulate access to monuments, to fix and receive entrance fees, and even to inflict fines for non-compliance with its own regulations. There is no hint as to how the very considerable staff necessary to make such an administration effective is to be recruited. There has recently been created by the Government a National Bureau of Archæology, under a Director, Mr. C. Van Riet Lowe, who is to advise on all matters relating to archæology, and is to take a prominent part in the administration of the Acts. If the permanent staff of the Department of Public Works is to be available in this connection, there would seem to be some prospect that the Act may be found workable. But to expect adequate administration from a body of unpaid Commissioners argues some inexperience in the framers of the Act, who seem to have worked on the presumption that a service of this sort ought to be able to support itself. It is to be regretted that the experience of other governments was not taken into account in this connection.

C. R. PEERS.

## ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE : PROCEEDINGS.

**Hill Tribes and Fisherfolk of Travancore.** *Summary of a Communication presented by Mrs. Eileen J. Macfarlane, B.Sc., Ph.D. (illustrated with lantern and film) : 22nd January, 1935.*

The Kanikkars are an aboriginal tribe of nomadic agriculturalists and hunters in South 41  
Malabar and Travancore. They are divided into three separate geographical groups, each with a distinct range. The southernmost group are found around Kodiar Lake, Vilavancode Taluq. Travancore. They are a dull, sluggish, malaria-ridden people and live in temporary settlements of 12 to 15 huts. The huts are constructed of wood, bamboo, reed and thatch of reed leaves, and consist of a single room with the ground as a floor. A cross-bow is used in hunting and a pellet or sling bow for keeping birds and monkeys from their crops. Baskets and mats are woven from the split stems of reed (*Ochlandra Reedii*). The settlement is moved each year and the jungle is cleared



by burning. Rice is their chief crop and is scattered just before the monsoon. Plantains and a few vegetables, also tobacco and hemp are grown. Fish are caught by damming and poisoning the streams with volatile vegetable poisons. They wear only a scanty cloth around their waists, but the women are loaded with necklaces of coloured and white glass beads and with brass bracelets and finger-rings. The tribe is divided into two exogamous phratries each consisting of three clans or illoms. The children belong to the mother's illom and often marry back into the father's. Girls are married both before and after puberty. polygyny is permitted and widows may remarry. They have strict sexual taboos and the boys and unmarried men sleep together in a Bachelor's Hall in the centre of the settlement. This structure has no walls and also serves as the Council Hall of the governing elders of the village. They worship spirits that inhabit certain groves and mountain tops, as well as the implements of their ancestors. They bury the dead. Their language is a base dialect combining Tamil and Malayalam.

Pictures were shown of typical male and female Kanikkars, and their physical measurements were given.

A brief comparison was made between the Kanikkars and the Puniyans of further north, also with the Uralis, who build sleeping huts in trees.

The Mukuvars, or Fisherfolk, of Travancore are Dravidians and are descended from members of the Paravan caste, who were converted to Roman Catholicism by the Portuguese at the end of the sixteenth century. They are strong and well-built and have to work hard. Many still bear Portuguese names: these were given to their ancestors when they were baptized. They fish with nets from the shore and also in deep water from wooden boats. The women take the catch to market in palm leaf baskets on their heads. The birth-rate is high and the infant mortality also. They are poor and possess very little jewellery. All have a holy medal strung around their necks. The women are clean and neat and wear white cotton jumpers and a white *mundu* which reaches below the knees.

The film showed several of the Hill Tribes in their settlements, pounding rice, etc. Also the fishermen at work and the women going to market. Some pictures also showed some interesting prehistoric stone dolmens of north-eastern Travancore.

**The Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria.** *Summary of a Communication presented by Miss G. Lindgren, 5th February, 1935.*

**42** The Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria live in the forested valleys of the Great Khingan mountains, in the north-western corner of Manchuria. They migrated from the Yakutsk Government in Siberia about one hundred years ago, owing to the gradual loss of their best hunting-grounds to the Yakuts, a more aggressive people with an aptitude for trade.

There are at present less than thirty households of Reindeer Tungus in Manchuria, small-pox having greatly reduced their numbers. Their herds of reindeer range from twelve to sixty per family. The deer are used as pack animals and, to a lesser extent, for riding, but they never draw sleds. The cows are milked and the deer are slaughtered for meat in emergencies, when the supply of flour and game (which includes elk, wapiti, roe-deer, boar and bear) has temporarily given out. During the last two or three generations there has been an increasing demand for flour, tea, cotton materials, tobacco, alcohol and sweets, which are obtained in exchange for squirrel skins and other products of the chase from a small group of Cossack families living on the Argun and Derbul Rivers. This barter trade is conducted at meeting-places in the woods once or twice during the winter, and at the Cossack villages (where there are also a few Chinese traders) two or three times during the remainder of the year. These are almost the only occasions when the Reindeer Tungus come into contact with other cultures, and they appear to have preserved the greater part of their traditional mode of life. The Reindeer Tungus adopted some of the outward forms of Russian Orthodox Christianity, in common with most native Siberians, probably about the beginning of the nineteenth century, and they all have Russian "Christian" names and use patronymics in the Russian manner. Nevertheless Tungus names, regarded as nicknames, are still found.

The Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria were visited by S. M. Shirokogoroff in September, 1915, and

by myself in July and August, 1929, in November, 1931, and in May and June, 1932, thus permitting a fairly complete record of their reindeer-breeding and some other aspects of their culture. Dr. B. Plaetschke, a geographer, encountered some Reindeer Tungus families on the upper courses of the Gan and Bystraya Rivers in the autumn of 1932, and at least one Russian and one Finnish mining engineer in search of gold and a few Chinese gold-washers have also come into brief contact with this group.

**The Age of the Pre-Crag Flint Implements.** *Summary of a Communication presented by J. Reid Moir, Esq., 19th February, 1935.*

An examination of a large number of the flint implements found below the Red Crag has shown that these are not all of one age, but are referable to various periods pre-dating the deposition of the marine sands of the Crag. The Suffolk Bone Bed, at the base of this deposit, in which the artifacts are found, is composed largely of the debris of ancient land surfaces broken up by the marine incursion of Crag times. In the Bone Bed have been discovered the remains of terrestrial mammals belonging to the Miocene, Pliocene, and earliest Pleistocene periods, and these exhibit differing conditions, due to the divergent experiences to which they were subjected prior to their arrival in the Bone Bed. The same applies to the five groups of flint implements in this deposit. They can be separated and distinguished by (a) their varying patinations, (b) re-flaking, (c) types and methods of manufacture, and (d) striation and signs of transport. A very searching examination has been made of the specimens, and the results are set forth in the form of tables, which indicate clearly the fundamental differences between the various groups. It would appear that a great lapse of time occurred between, for example, Group 1 and Group 5 of the pre-Crag implements, and as these are all sealed below a deposit of basal Pleistocene date, it is necessary to recognize that Group 1 must be referable to some epoch long prior to the laying down of the Red Crag. As, moreover, the specimens of this group, which contains well-made rostro-carinate and other types, cannot well represent the earliest efforts of man to flake flints, it follows that a considerable extension of the antiquity of the human race appears to be necessary. It is of interest, in this connection, to note that stone implements have already been notified from the Upper Miocene and Upper Oligocene strata of France and Belgium, and the recent examination of the pre-Crag specimens lends some support to these claims.

43

## OBITUARY.

**Caecilie Seler-Sachs :** 4th January, 1935.

Caecilie Seler-Sachs, one of the Americanists well known to the older archæologists, died on the 4th of January, 1935, in Berlin at the age of 79 years.

Mrs. Seler was born in Berlin on the first of June 1855. Although the emancipation of women always kept her keen interest, from the time she married Prof. Eduard Seler in 1884, it was Mexico, with its famous old civilization, which became the principal object of her studies. During the years between 1887 and 1911, she made six journeys of investigation with her husband in North, Middle and South America. She was interested in the archæology as well as in the daily life of the Indians in old and modern times, as is clearly shown in her publications, of which the principal are as follows :—

Auf alten Wegen in Mexiko und Guatemala. Reise-erinnerungen und Eindrücke aus den Jahren 1895-1897. Berlin 1900. Dietrich Reimer. Zweite Auflage 1925 Stuttgart, Strecker und Schröder.

Mexikanische Küche. In : Zeitschrift d. Vereins f. Volkskunde in Berlin, Heft 4, 1909.

Die Reliefscherben von Cuicatlan und Teotitlan del Camino. In : Proc. XVIII. Congr. of Americanists, London 1912.

Die Huasteca-sammlung des Kgl. Museums für Völkerkunde zu Berlin : Baessler-Archiv, Band V, Heft 3, 1915.

Frauenleben im Reiche der Azteken. Ein Blatt aus der Kulturgeschichte Alt-Mexikos. Dietrich Reimer, Berlin 1919.

Altertümer des Kantons Tuxtla in Staate Veracruz. In : Festschrift Eduard Seler, Stuttgart 1922.

Auf Forschungsreisen in Mexiko. Ullstein, Berlin 1925. Wege zum Wissen, Band 35.

Zur Tracht der mexikanischen Indianerinnen. Berlin : o.J.

Von der Kleidung im Reiche Montecuhzomas. In : Ibero-America, 1924, Nr. 8.

L'architecture et la sculpture chez les Aztèques. In : Cahiers d'art ; quatrième année, Nr. 10.

After the death of her husband Mrs. Seler edited the following of his unpublished works :—

Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach und Altertumskunde von Eduard Seler, Vierter Band, Berlin ; Behrend & Co. 1923.

Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagun, aus dem Azteki-schen: übersetzt von Eduard Seler. Herausgegeben von Caecilie Seler-Sachs in Gemeinschaft mit Prof. Dr. Walter Lehmann und Dr. Krickeberg. Verlegt von Strecker und Schröder in Stuttgart. 1927.

To both of these publications Mrs. Seler wrote an introduction.

With Caecilie Seler-Sachs one of the American archaeologists of the old generation has passed away. It has been a privilege to have known personally this intelligent, energetic and very original woman.

GUDA E. G. DUYVIS.

## REVIEWS.

### PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY.

**Early Forerunners of Man: A Morphological Study of the Evolutionary Origin of the Primates.** By W. E. Le Gros Clark. London: Ballière, Tindall and Cox, 1934. xvi + 295 pp. Price 15s.

It is seventy years since Huxley wrote: "At the present moment, therefore, the question of the relation of man to the lower animals resolves itself, in the end, into the larger question of the tenability or untenability of Mr. Darwin's views." That those views can be accepted in broad outline, at least, has been the working hypothesis of almost all later anthropologists and the problem of determining man's place in nature has hence become one which it should be possible to solve with a closer and closer approximation to the truth as the evidence bearing on it increases. In those seventy years the evidence has, in fact, accumulated at a rapid rate. Professor Le Gros Clark summarises a great deal of it in this book, and physical anthropologists will be grateful to him for thus making them acquainted with the results of specialised researches which lie mainly outside their field, though bearing directly on the problem of man's descent. The ground covered is the evolutionary history of the whole group—i.e., the Order of Primates—to which man belongs. The evidence is derived from comparative anatomy, palæontology and embryology, and that of the last kind is said to be of the least importance since it indicates surprisingly little of the nature of man's immediate progenitor. The principles according to which the data should be interpreted are discussed in the introductory chapter and special stress is laid on the importance of recognising the existence of evolutionary parallelism. "All anatomical characters must be taken into account in assessing affinities," and in the evaluation "of genetic affinities anatomical differences are more important as negative evidence than anatomical resemblances are as positive evidence." The distribution of the Primates in space and time is then considered and later chapters deal with the evidence of special groups of characters such as those relating to the skull, limbs, senses and so on. Finally, the results of these special comparisons are synthesised and the writer draws general conclusions regarding the phylogenetic history of the Primates. The importance of the part which must have been played by parallel evolution is again stressed. In presenting his conclusions in the form of ramifying trees Professor Le Gros Clark remarks that such diagrams convey an impression of finality which is not intended. He admits that the ultimate solution of these problems must depend on the accumulation of a far more complete palæontological record than that at present available. It is to be hoped that he will deal in a later book with fossil remains of man.

G. M. MORANT.

**Law and Order in Polynesia.** By H. Ian Hogbin. With an Introduction by Professor Malinowski. London: Christophers, 1934. 296 pp., plates, maps. Price 12s. 6d.

The author of this book has set himself to account for

the general tendency to obey rules and observe obligations which he has found in a primitive society, i.e., his purpose is to reveal and analyse the forces which constitute its 'law.' The society dealt with, is that of Ontong Java, an isolated Polynesian island in Melanesian surroundings, and the book under review embodies some of the results of Mr. Hogbin's field work there in 1927 and 1928. It is amplified by some comparative material from other Polynesian societies.

It has long been recognized as difficult to explain the 'law-abidingness' of primitive societies in the absence of law in the institutionalized sense. Dr. Hogbin, however, has succeeded admirably in throwing the light of the functional method on to his problem. He has devoted many pages to an analysis of this island society and has been able to demonstrate that it rests upon a system of give and take, of mutual obligations. The whole strength of this system supports conformity; for to violate rules is to step outside the system, and in so far as a man does so, he must forgo its benefits and incur the disabilities which come from thwarting it.

Over and above this generalized social sanction, the author deals with the more particular methods of ensuring conformity. The religious sanction is highly developed, for the spirits of the dead are usually made responsible for sickness and death, and such visitation is typically regarded as punishment for some offence or evasion of responsibility. Sorcery (which Mr. Hogbin is happily able to view with more or less impartiality) is another sanction, comparable to "the dagger with which the husband killed the man who had wronged him." But sorcery is comparatively seldom imputed as the cause of death, and, incidentally, one is tempted to say that the Ontong Javanese, in favouring another aetiology, have reached a higher level than their Melanesian neighbours. To mention another of the sanctions, viz., the judicial powers of the king, is to draw attention to one feature of Mr. Hogbin's book which, though somewhat aside from the main issue, is of great interest, viz., the fairly recent establishment of a kingship without direct interference from outside.

The author acknowledges his debt in particular to Professors Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski. The latter has contributed a long and important introduction in which he has restated and developed his views on primitive law. Deprecating the tendency on the one hand to restrict the scope of the enquiry to institutionalized law, and on the other to equate it with custom at large, he finds the scope of law in those rules "which curb human inclinations, passions or instinctive drives; rules which protect the rights of one citizen against the concupiscence, cupidity or malice of the other; rules which usually pertain to sex, property and safety"; and he concludes that the main forces which ensure their fulfilment "reside in the systematic concatenation of all rules which is the essence of social institutions." The reviewer trusts that these two quotations are truly representative and that they give Professor Malinowski's answers to the main questions at issue. For neither he nor Dr. Hogbin has faced up to it and written down a definition of 'law' in brief, forthright terms.

It may be remarked that Dr. Hogbin seems to have attached somewhat more value to the 'group sentiment' than does Professor Malinowski. But, although he says early in his book that "Participation in the life of a community inevitably creates a whole series of emotional ties," and that "This feeling of unity itself tends to make each member respect the rights of his fellows and carry out his obligations to them," he does not devote a great deal of attention to this aspect of his subject in what follows. It must be obvious to all, however, that such a group sentiment exists, and it is equally obvious that it does not exist for nothing.

It occurs to the reviewer that there is some risk of falling into the "intellectualistic fallacy" in pursuing the contention that rights are balanced by obligations, and that social duty done is sure of its reward. It is, indeed, possible to establish this thesis, particularly if we are not put out by the fact that we have no accurate means of weighing rights and obligations against one another, when they differ in kind: but we must beware of reading into the primitive mind too intelligent a realization of the system. One may doubt whether the native often takes the 'long-range view,' whether the powerful chief gives due consideration to his obligations, and, surely, whether the parents' conduct toward the child owes much to a motive of "old age insurance in filial duties." We must beware of attaching too much importance to intelligent self-interest at any level, particularly the primitive.

The author of this book is to be congratulated on a style which is clean, clear, and straightforward. He also makes effective use of anecdotes or cases, which are easy

to read and enable him to drive home his point. Further, his book has the uncommon merit of being reasonably short. Altogether, both for text and introduction, it is a very welcome and important contribution. F. E. W.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

**De Mensch—Geest en Materie.** Door Drs. E. H. F. van der Lely. Assen · Van Gorcum & Comp. N. L., 1933. 6½ × 4¼, 172 pp. F. 1.95. **47**

This little book is the first number of a series, entitled 'Inzichten en Uitzichten,' in which I understand questions of interest and importance to the present generation are to be discussed. The work under review, as its title suggests, deals in a succession of chapters with life in general, human life, mind and matter, freedom of the will, nature and man, religions and the idea of God, ethics, eugenics and social welfare, cultural tendencies, man and the machine, and the younger generation, to which the author addresses a special appeal. The point of view is decidedly 'modern' and somewhat iconoclastic; there is a good deal of criticism of the churches, of science (as being too materialistic), of capitalism and the machine (on much the same lines); and the older generation is blamed for having caused the great war (though that can hardly apply in Holland). The author's sympathies are with a mild form of socialism, in the direction mainly of social welfare and international co-operation, by no means of the sort that is nowadays termed communism. Though perhaps unnecessarily rhetorical, the book is full of ideas and ideals. The younger generation may have the opportunity of seeing whether they can be realized. C. O. BLAGDEN.

### CORRESPONDENCE.

#### Primitive Law.

SIR,—In his Introduction to Dr. Hogbin's *Law and Order in Polynesia*, Professor Malinowski has enunciated what purport to be criticisms of some of my views on law. Professor Malinowski on occasions indulges in the amusement of setting up a straw-man for the pleasure of making fun of it and demolishing it. Sometimes he names his straw-man 'Emile Durkheim.' On this occasion he labels him 'Radcliffe-Brown.' The resemblance to the name-sake is about as close as that of an effigy burnt on the fifth of November to the original Guy Fawkes. **48**

The procedure whereby the 'guy' is constructed is as follows:—(1) A theory of law is stated as being that formerly held by anthropologists (p. xxi) though, in the form in which it is stated, I feel doubtful if any anthropologist ever held it. It is given apparent validation by brief quotations from Hartland, Rivers and Hobbouse (p. xxii), and it is then suggested (p. xxiii) that this is the theory that I hold. (2) Certain views which Professor Malinowski wishes to attack are said to be 'implied' in what I have written, although no attempt is made to show how they are implied (e.g., p. xxix). (3) Professor Malinowski attributes to me, throughout the argument, a view which is contrary to my own direct statement as quoted by him. Thus, on p. xxiii, he quotes my statement that "some simple societies have no law, although all have customs which are supported by sanctions," and on the following page, he says of me, "he has based his definition on the fact of law being sanctioned, and custom not." This misrepresentation of my views is necessary for the construction of the guy.

While it is difficult to be certain what is the central point of Professor Malinowski's argument, it would seem to amount to the proposition that in primitive societies

many social usages, though not all, have sanctions of various kinds. I should have supposed that this elementary truth was well known to all students of social science. But in order that it may be claimed as a discovery made by him in the Trobriand Islands, Professor Malinowski has to construct a straw-man anthropologist who is supposed either to deny it or to be ignorant of it. I only wish to protest against the 'guy' being given my name.

As a general disclaimer I may say that I do not hold the views that Professor Malinowski is attacking. His chief attack seems to be against what he calls "the figment of an automatically law-abiding native" (p. xxvii), or "the assumption of collective or automatic enforcement of law" (p. xxiii, my italics), or "the concept of the passive, implicit automatic obedience to law" (p. lxi). On the contrary, I hold, as I suppose do all students of social science, that social usages are all maintained or backed, either by simple social recognition (as is the case with many technical procedures) or by specific sanctions, positive or negative, diffuse or organized. My article on 'Primitive Law' in the *Encyclopædia of the Social Sciences* is based on and refers to an article in the same publication on 'Social Sanctions,' in which I have attempted a systematic classification of sanctions.

Again, I do not believe that in primitive societies "the whole body of rules form one vast undifferentiated continuum" (p. xxi). I do not "assert a complete breach of continuity between the working of primitive institutions from a legal point of view and the working of our law" (p. xxix), but I do assert exactly the contrary. I do not believe that I tend "to ignore completely the individual and to eliminate the biological element from the functional analysis of culture" (p. xxxviii) though, as I am not sure what 'the biological

'element' is, I cannot be certain of my position here. If it means the psycho-physical characteristics of human beings I should be the last to 'eliminate' them. But, when Professor Malinowski says that I forget "that a great many laws and customs are sanctioned physiologically and psychologically" I find it difficult to know what he is talking about. That, if I eat sour grapes, my teeth will be set on edge, may perhaps be called a 'physiological' sanction against eating sour grapes. But what relevance have such facts in any study of 'social sanctions'?

The really important differences between Professor Malinowski and myself are in the uses of words. In the slow and laborious process of establishing a scientific terminology in social science one's aim, I presume, should be (1) to attain scientific precision by means of exact definitions, (2) to ensure that the terms used are applicable in the same sense to all human societies, (3) to avoid, as far as possible, conflict with current usage. For many years I have had to lecture, at intervals, to lawyers and law-students. I have therefore found it convenient to adjust my terminology as far as possible to that commonly used in writings on analytical jurisprudence. Professor Malinowski, on the other hand, seems to have a contempt for writers in jurisprudence or, at least, for their views on law (p. lxi), and prefers to use terms without exact definition. I cannot find in what he has written any definition of the words he constantly uses, such as 'law,' 'custom,' 'sanction,' to say nothing of the constantly recurring term 'primitive society' as applied to the Trobriand Islands. He uses 'code of law,' which is a technical term in jurisprudence, not in its technical sense but as a substitute for 'corpus' (p. lxiii) and uses the word 'nexus,' a technical term in Roman law, in a sense that would probably shock a Roman lawyer (p. lxvii). Yet, in spite of this, Professor Malinowski seems to regard his own use of these undefined terms as 'more correct' than their use by writers on jurisprudence (see the phrase 'custom—or, 'more correctly, law' on p. xli).

So far as one can tell, without the aid of a definition, Professor Malinowski means by 'law' any socially sanctioned rule of behaviour. Thus, in Europe the rule that one should not partake of Mass without the proper spiritual preparation is a 'law,' since it is subject to a religious sanction, or similarly, the rule that one must not wear a black tie with a tailed evening coat. The use of the word 'law' in this sense seems to me to be very inconvenient. My own use of the term is simply that accepted by a considerable number of writers on analytical jurisprudence. A 'law' is a rule of behaviour subject to some legal sanction; and a 'legal sanction' is distinguished from other social sanctions by the fact that it involves the interference of some politically organized judicial authority.

If Professor Malinowski would substitute the term 'sanctioned usage' for 'law' in what he writes, he would find that not only do I not disagree with him but neither does any one else, since the greater part of his statements are commonplaces of social science, only made to appear novel and profound by a novel and obscure use of words.

University of Chicago. A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN.

#### Ancient Amazonite.

**49** STR.—In tracing early diffusion of culture either by casual drift, primitive trade routes, or invasion, objects of characteristic design or of rare material are found to be of the greatest assistance. Such a rare material is the stone amazonite, which has figured lately in works dealing with the Sumerian and the Indus Valley cultures.

It is to be feared, however, that there are errors of fact that do much to destroy the value of the way in which this material has been treated. The relevant passages are as follows:—From Dr. C. L. Woolley's article in the *Antiquaries Journal*, X (1930), p. 336. "The house débris of the antediluvian level produced besides pottery . . . and two beads of amazonite. the nearest known source of which is the Nilghiri hills of central India, though it is found also in Transbaikalia. These would seem to point to an overland trade which, in the pre-flood age, must strike us as amazing." Compare his *Digging up the Past*, p. 138. Dr. Woolley repeats this passage in the same sense if not in the same words.

Professor Gordon Childe in his book *New Light on the Most Ancient East* says on page 145, "And two beads from the oldest house foundations at Ur are said to be of amazonite, a greenish stone that occurs *in situ* in the Nilgharry Hills of India, but also in Armenia." And again, on page 210, with reference to Mohenjo-daro, "luxury articles from still farther afield . . . amazonite from the Nilgharry Hills of Kashmir."

These references to amazonite, so far as they concern India, did not appear to me to be quite in order, so to make certain I consulted the Directors of the Geographical and Geological Surveys of India. The following are their reports:—

The Director of Map Publication of the Survey of India says: "I have to inform you that the only recognized spelling for the word is 'Nilgiri,' and outside Madras, no other hills are known by this name. A State by this name forms one of the eastern States formerly known as the Tributary or Feudatory States of Orissa." As I had suspected, there are no Nilghiri Hills in Central India or Nilgharry Hills in Kashmir.

The Director of the Geological Survey says: "So far as I can find, there is only (one) reference to amazon-stone, i.e., in mica pegmatites (Holland: *Memoirs*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 31—no locality mentioned). Green microcline, which may be called amazon-stone, occurs in the pegmatites near Jhajha (Monghyr district) and in the Nellore District of Madras. No reference can be found about its occurrence in the Nilgiri Mountains of the Madras Presidency." Amazonite, therefore, does not appear to come from any form of Nilgiri Hills.

I raise this point not merely to carp over details of orthography and geography. Mr. F. J. Richards (*MAN*, 202, 1931) calls attention to the similarity between a bronze bowl from the Nilgiris and a golden bowl from Ur. Once establish amazonite also, in both localities, and one has the elements which, with very little addition, will produce diffusion by a maritime coasting trade from Calicut to the mouth of the Tigris.

If Professor Gordon Childe's reference to Armenia is correct, then it seems that this is the most likely source of supply for amazonite, together with obsidian mentioned on the same page. This is a pity, as although an overland trade route from Southern Madras is quite out of the question in the times referred to, a sea coast one from Calicut is a most attractive speculation, and therefore a most dangerous one, unless supported by reliable evidence.

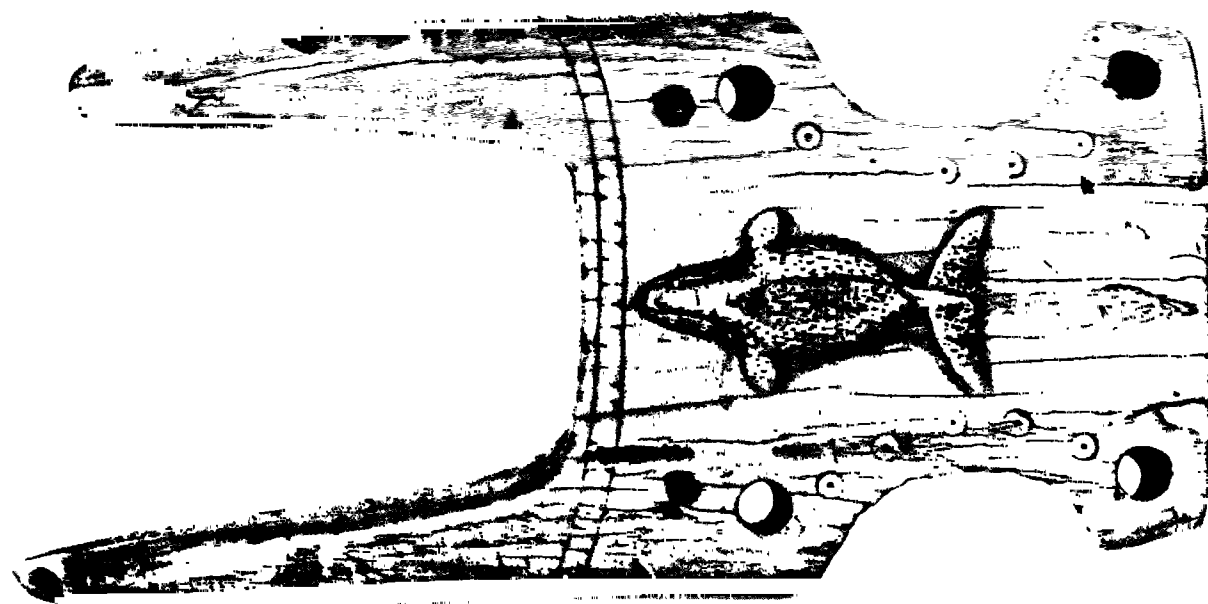
D. H. GORDON.  
Small Arms School, Pachmarhi, India.

#### African Pedigrees.

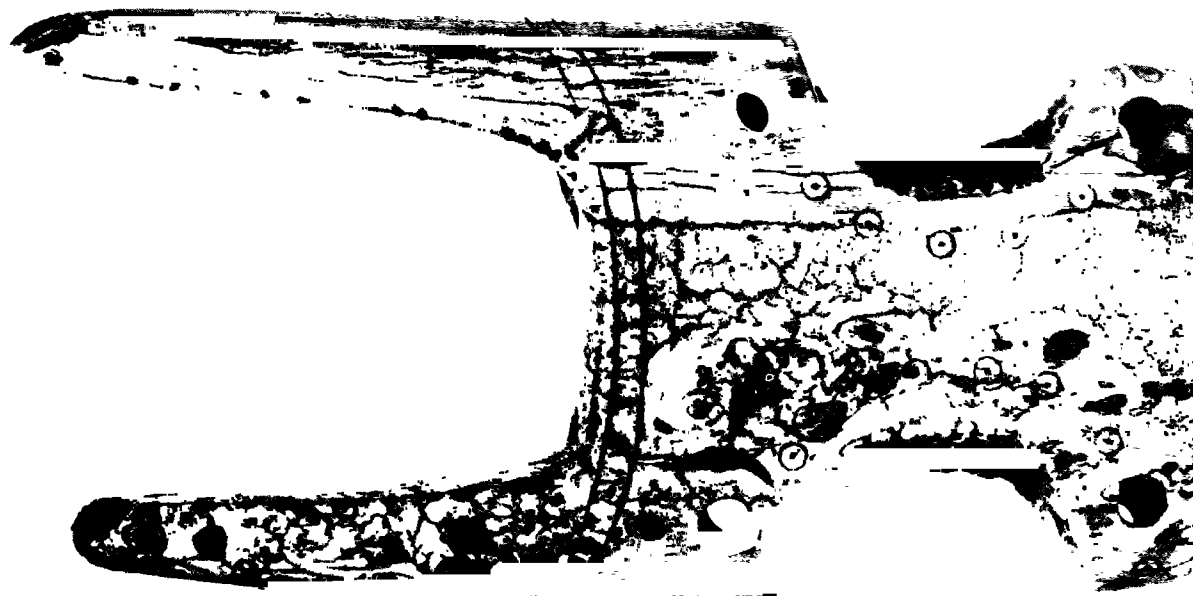
**50** STR.—Mr. Huntingford's pedigree of the Kâp-kopokoi (*MAN*, 1935, 24) shows an average of ten years per generation for five generations. I should like to ask him how he explains this, and what he considers to be the normal average of years to a generation in an African pedigree.

RAGLAN.





INBOARD SIDE.



OUTBOARD SIDE.

AN ESKIMO HARPOON-REST FROM ALASKA.  
By permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

# MAN

## A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

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### ORIGINAL ARTICLES

#### Eskimo : Technology.

#### With Plate D.

Digby.

An Eskimo Harpoon Rest from Alaska. *By Adrian Digby, British Museum.*

In 1933 the British Museum purchased a walrus-ivory whale-harpoon rest which has some unusual features. First, it is carved from one solid piece of ivory instead of the more normal two pieces which are spliced together in the middle. The deep arches, made obliquely to fit the inward curve of the top-strakes of an Umiak, were excavated by making a series of cuts with a saw-like implement, and the resultant pieces were chipped out. This leaves a rough surface, which would help to grip the strakes, which were lashed in place by sinews passed through the adjacent holes. These are apparently drilled from both sides, for one hole has a very definite elbow. The crutch was probably made in the same manner as the arches at the side, but in this case it has been polished smooth. 51

The principal motif in the ornament of this specimen seems to have been the whale. On the inboard, or broader, side is a carving in relief of a whale, hatched with V-shaped incisions. On the outboard side are two very realistic incised and blackened drawings, showing the tails of whales in the act of diving. Unfortunately, the prongs of the crutch are both broken at the end, but the rudimentary knob on the left-hand prong suggests that these terminated in whales' tails, similar to those incised on the outboard side of this rest. The meaning of the carvings—if there be any meaning—is uncertain; but it is worth noticing that the crutch is for whaling only, and the ornament represents whales. This may perhaps be some form of sympathetic magic.

The other ornament is geometrical in character, consisting of a narrow double line running right round the body of the object, just below the crutch: on the inside of these lines are placed minute wedge-shaped incisions, grouped in pairs. A band of incised circles, about one-eighth of an inch in diameter, borders the arches for the strakes of the Umiak. Two things are to be noticed about these dots; they were obviously made with some instrument, functioning like a compass, and the holes for lashings cut into their sequence. In fact, they actually cut through the ornamental circles in places, clearly showing that the drilling took place after the ornamentation. The writer knows of no pair of movable compasses which would remain sufficiently steady to reproduce the same size circle, about forty times, with no variation. Similar marks are to be found on Eskimo, East African and Sudanese material, which have been made by twisting the broken points of a pen nib; but these circles are of too small a diameter for this to be the likely explanation.

As a purely tentative hypothesis, it is not impossible to conceive of a rather specialized bit for a drill; with a long central spike and a vertical cutting edge revolving round it. Such a tool would be not unlike the bit used by carpenters drilling large-diameter holes in wood, but without the horizontal blade.

Examples of the two-piece type of crutch are figured by Murdoch, who says that the only reason for making the crutch of two pieces is that it is "impossible to get a piece of walrus ivory large enough for a whole one."<sup>1</sup> But the British Museum specimen differs from these in being more or less straight.

<sup>1</sup> Murdoch, 'Ethnological Results of the Point Barrow Expedition,' *9th Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, 1887-88, Fig. 348.



sided. The change, made possible, perhaps, by the wide piece of walrus ivory, is not very significant, for the Eskimos are great opportunists and will not always conform to convention; but there are two whales' tails, incised by cross-hatching, on Murdoch's specimen, which might lead one to believe that this example came from the same locality, Point Barrow. On the other hand, Nelson figures a relief carving of a whale, very similar to that on the inboard side of the British Museum harpoon rest, on a cord attacher from Unalaklit in Norton Sound, some 350 miles south of Point Barrow.<sup>2</sup> But we have sufficient evidence to permit of a more precise localization for this specimen than the vague term 'Western Alaska.'

ADRIAN DIGBY.

### Spain.

Aitken.

#### Modern Slab Burials in Northern Castile. *By Barbara Aitken.*

**52** While staying (in 1932) at Fresneda de la Sierra, near the source of the river Tirón (province of Burgos), I heard that human skeletons buried 'between flagstones' were sometimes found in the neighbourhood, and the local roadman offered to find and uncover such a burial at Villanueva.

Villanueva, about a mile from Fresneda and formerly a hamlet of that municipality, is said to have been abandoned by the last of its inhabitants about a century ago: the houses have

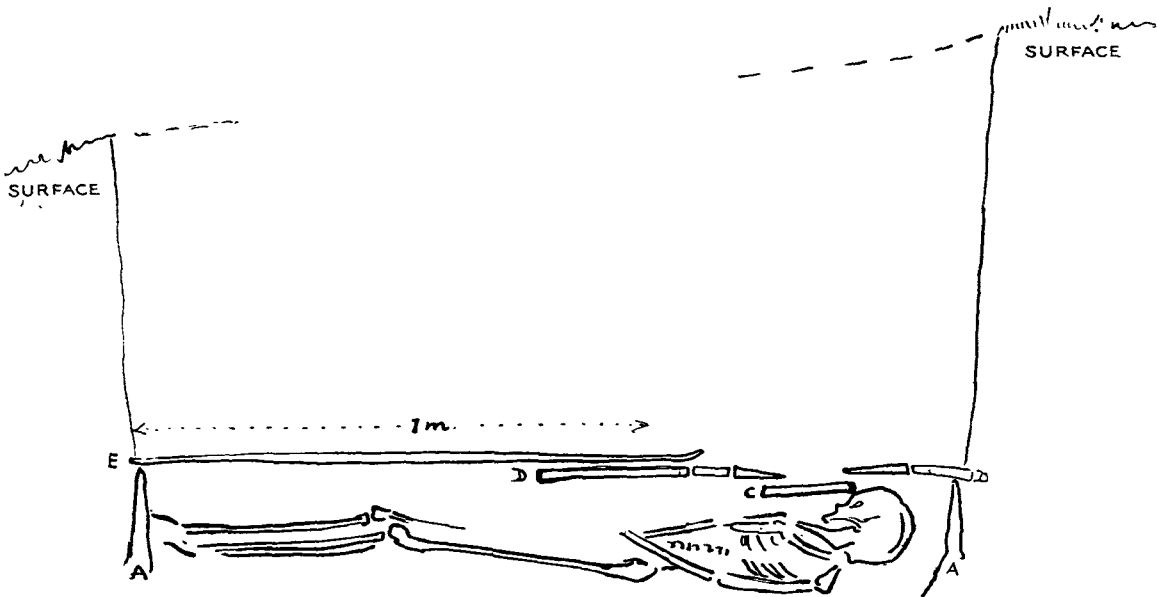


FIG. 1. SECTION OF SLAB-GRAVE, VILLANUEVA.

disappeared, but the ruins of a chapel crown a natural (?) mound overlooking the old roadway. Near the edge of the level top of this hillock, to the north of the chapel, the diggers soon uncovered a slab grave about three feet below the surface. The interior space below the cover-slab was full of fine silted earth mixed with decayed organic matter, which, being scraped away, disclosed the skeleton of a tall young adult male lying at full length face upwards on the earthen floor of the grave, the feet pointing to E.N.E., the legs rather wide apart, the head inclined to its right side and bent so that the chin would rest on the breast, the wrists crossed, and the hands lying over the pelvis. No remains of textiles or of other artefacts were found. The sides and the rounded foot of the grave (Figs. 1 and 2, AAA) were built of untrimmed pieces of flaggy red sandstone from the local Bunter beds, set on edge and sloping inwards somewhat towards the floor, so that they must have fitted rather closely round the corpse; the place for the head was built of smaller broken slabs of the same.

<sup>2</sup> Nelson, 'Eskimo about Behring Straits,' 18th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Part 1, 1896-97, Fig. 41b.

except that the right side of the head was pillowed into the hollow of a curved limestone boulder (B). The construction of the lid was somewhat complicated. A sandstone slab (C) had been laid across the grave horizontally over the chin and upper breast, supporting various irregular pieces (DDD) fitted together to protect the head and face. Another slab (D) laid across the grave at a level slightly above that of (C) protected the hands and the pelvic region. Above this last was laid a long slab (E) forming the lid of the grave, covering the skeleton from the level of the thorax to the feet and supported, at its western end, by the cross slab (D), and at its eastern end by the slabs set up round the legs. There was no stone floor to the grave, but its eastern end was built over the western part of the lid of a grave which underlay it; other slabs were seen projecting above its western end; and it appeared that the northern side at least of the hillock was honeycombed with similar slab graves, oriented more or less to E.N.E., and built into the steep slope at various levels.

There seemed no reason to doubt that they were Christian, and connected with the chapel above them. It is possible that here, as certainly at Old Fresneda, burials were made at the chapel for some time after the houses had been abandoned. Outside the grave which we opened, and resting on the slabs which covered it, were an infant's cranium, jaw and humerus (FFF), and parts of the skull of an older child (G). Another fragment lay about 12 inches away.

Similar burials are said to have been uncovered about half a mile down the Tirón valley, close to the modern high-road and opposite San Vicente. The peasants dig up these graves for the sake of the flagstones, which they use to improve the ditches in their water-meadows; and the roadmen take them to make culverts.

I am indebted to Don Froilán Guerra, medical officer at Fresneda, for the following measurements of the skeleton uncovered, taken, in the absence of anthropometric callipers, with rule and steel tape.

*Measurements taken on a skeleton of a male over 35 years of age.*

	cm.
Length of femur - - - - -	41-42
„ „ tibia - - - - -	37
„ „ fibula - - - - -	36
„ „ humerus - - - - -	30
„ „ ulna - - - - -	24
„ „ clavicle - - - - -	40
„ „ transverse apophysis of atlas - - -	8
„ „ spinous apophysis of 3rd cervical vertebra	2
„ „ spinous apophysis of 1st dorsal vertebra	3
„ „ transverse apophysis of do. do. -	3
„ „ spinous apophysis of 2nd dorsal vertebra	3.50
„ „ spinous apophysis of 3rd lumbar vertebra	4
Distance of pelvic border from centre of iliac spine	8
Transverse diameter of cotyloid cavity of insertion of femur - - - - -	4

*Cranium:—*

Distance taped over skull from occipital eminence to frontal prominence - - - - -	28
Do. from posterior border of foramen magnum to frontal prominence - - - - -	36
Maximum orbital length - - - - -	2.50
Orbital height - - - - -	1.80
Distance taped over skull from earhole to earhole	31.50

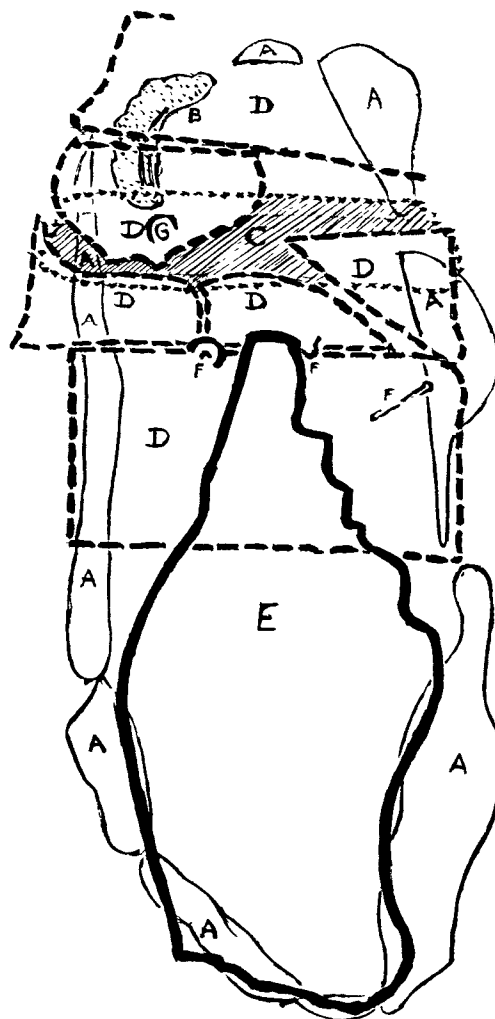


FIG. 2. DIAGRAM SHOWING ARRANGEMENT OF STONES IN SLAB GRAVE AT VILLANUEVA.

AAA. Upper edges of slabs forming sides and ends; B. Naturally hollowed limestone boulder; C (shaded). Slab protecting chin and neck; DDD. Slab protecting hands and pelvis, and fragments fitted on same level; E. Principal covering slab; FFFG. Fragments of infant's and adolescent's skeletons outside the grave.

After examination I had the bones re-buried (depositing a Kodak reel to show that the disturbance was recent), the covering slabs replaced as nearly as possible, and the hole filled up. My want of experience made it inadvisable to disturb other graves in the mound, which therefore awaits competent investigation. At present it can only be said that this mode of burial 'between flagstones,' grave above grave in a mound, is quite different from any practised in the neighbourhood within living memory. Corpses are now buried there (with hands clasped on the breast) in wooden coffins in the earth, while a few rich families at Pradoluengo and Fresneda have imported the custom of placing coffined bodies in mausoleums, or in niches above ground. There was no lack of wood at Villanueva to make coffins—beech, oak (and elm a few miles away) being available. The unusual position of the legs in the single skeleton uncovered is perhaps accidental: the limbs of the corpse may have been allowed to stiffen without tying the knees.

For the late survival of slab burial there are parallels elsewhere in Western Europe. A very similar form is noted by Dr. Andrew Edgar (*Old Church Life in Scotland*, Second Series, 1886, p. 250) as being continued "in some of the northern districts of Scotland" down to the end of the eighteenth or the beginning of the nineteenth century. "When people were interred without coffins . . . there was sometimes a chamber prepared for them. Unhewn slabs were set on their edges against the sides and ends of the grave: and when the corpse was placed inside, one or more flat stones were laid over the top, for a lid, and above all there was a covering of earth or turf. Along the northern and western coasts, there are," says Dr. Joseph Anderson, "isolated burials of the bodies of shipwrecked sailors, in shallow graves above the beach, in which the bodies have been laid in cists made of flat stones gathered from the neighbouring strand. I have seen on a northern headland the grave of a man, a suicide, whose grandchildren are yet alive . . . a cist of small slabs from the beach, with a single covering stone seven or eight feet long. I own that when first I saw it I would have taken it for a prehistoric burial, had I not been made acquainted with its history."

M. Zacharie Le Rouzic allows me to say that he will publish shortly in the *Bulletin de la Société Polymathique du Morbihan* the description of a stratified series of Christian burials extending from the eighth to the thirteenth century, in graves built of, or lined with, stone slabs (*tombes à dalles*), which he has excavated in a sand dune close to the chapel of Saint-Clément, Quiberon. One of these tombs is exhibited in the Musée Miln at Carnac. The general resemblance to the Villanueva tomb is striking. None of them, however, have the cover-slabs arranged as at Villanueva, nor do the skeletons show the crossing of the wrists over the pelvis which, in the Morbihan, is an attitude characteristic of Gallo-Roman rather than of Christian burials.

M. Le Rouzic has also noted two recent revivals of burial between slabs on the Breton coast. During the war, on the treeless island of Hoëdic, Morbihan, no wood could be obtained for coffins; the inhabitants therefore dug graves in the cemetery, 1 m. to 1 m. 50 deep, and lined them with slabs of stone. And, on an island of the Archipel du Glénand, opposite Concarneau, the bodies of shipwrecked Greek sailors have been laid in some of the many prehistoric stone cists which are to be found near the sea shore.

BARBARA AITKEN.

### Rhodesia : Magic.

Brelsford.

A Bambwela Purification Rite. By Vernon Brelsford.

**53** The ceremony here described is observed in Northern Rhodesia among a section of the Bambwela living under Chief Kabulwebulwe, a chief living on the Kafue River; about Latitude 15 S., and Longitude 26 W.

I have observed the ceremony several times in the course of my work as a Native Commissioner, and the description has been embodied in official reports at this station.

Among these people a child who cuts its top teeth before its lower ones is known as *mankunamwa*, and is regarded as the herald of a series of evil consequences about to fall upon the parents and relatives. Before the advent of English administration it was forbidden by tribal custom (*kulweza*—to be taboo), for the child to continue to live when the top teeth made their first appearance. To allow such a child to live meant certain death for the parents and relatives, but certain methods of

killing the child were observed. If the village was situated near a river, the mother would go alone with the child strapped to her back in the usual fashion, with a skin or bark cloth: then, on reaching the river, she would stand with her back to the water, unloose the cloth and allow both cloth and child to fall into the river. She would then return to the village without once looking back. When no river ran near the village, the maternal grandmother would take the child into the bush and thrust it head first into an ant-bear hole, where it would speedily die.

Such murders are now forbidden by law, but in their stead a rite is practised whereby the village is purified from the evil spirit manifest in the *mankunamwa* (*kusalazia*—to purify). When it is seen that a child is cutting its top teeth before its lower ones, the maternal grandmother brews beer, and full pots are placed at all cross roads or at the junctions of paths leading from various villages to the village where the child was born. Should the maternal grandmother be dead, one of her brothers brews the beer. The pots are always carried to their positions at the cross paths by the father of the child or by one of his brothers.

All the people of the village then bring calabashes, and in turn they drink from each pot. As one pot is finished, it is carried into the bush and thrown away by the paternal grandmother or by one of her brothers, and the villagers move on to the next pot. When all the pots are finished, each person throws away his calabash into the bush. During this ceremony the *mankunamwa* is carried from pot to pot in its mother's arms, but neither parents nor their blood relations partake of the beer, lest the evil spirit should again enter the blood of the family.

There is no continuation of the beer drinking after the pots at the cross paths are finished, nor is there any singing and dancing, but usually no work of any description is done that day. To complete the rite no one has sexual intercourse that night, and the father and mother of the child abstain from intercourse for three or four nights. This abstention from intercourse was observed in old days after the child had been killed.

After the village has been purified, the *mankunamwa* should suffer no disabilities whatsoever, but the records of the Chief's court show that he has had to deal with many cases in which the older generation have laid the causes of ills to the preservation of a *mankunamwa*.

The evil spirit is said to come from a person who has died whilst still bearing a grudge against one of his relations. After his death it is his restless spirit that causes the child to cut its top teeth first, and eventually causes the death of parents and relatives. No attempt appears to be made to discover which particular deceased person is the fount of these evils, but after each purification, that particular spirit is laid for ever.

The old men of the tribe are persistent in stating that they took this custom of purification from the Baila, a tribe to which these Bambwela are quite close territorially. There is no reason to doubt this assertion, for the Baila have the same belief and practise a purification ceremony which is practically the same as the one described. Other traces of a Baila cultural influence, too, are often met among the Bambwela. The Kaonde, another tribe of the same district of Northern Rhodesia, have also evolved a purification ceremony regarding the same belief, but it differs considerably from that of the Baila and Bambwela.

This ceremony is but one example of how anthropological material in Central Africa is increasing. Old customs die out or are forbidden by English administration, but the old beliefs persist, and a new set of customs cluster around them, customs whose outlines are moulded by the presence of European civilization.

VERNON BRELSFORD.

## Tanganyika.

## Tripe.

**The Installation (Kusamwa) of the Chief of Uha.** By W. B. Tripe.

Among the Ha when circumstances render it necessary to choose a new chief (*Mwami*), it is customary to await the period of a new moon before the installation. At the appointed time, shortly before dawn, a party of natives, accompanied by certain priests (*wateko*) proceed from the late chief's village at Heru to the little district of Kirungwe, the headman of which at the present time is Mayenge. Here they meet the man who has been chosen to be chief. As soon as they see him they put a few grains of *mtama* corn in their mouths, munching but not eating them, spitting

54

the grain on to the chief's chest to call a blessing upon him. At night-fall he is shown his resting place and given food : flour, beer and the flesh of a newly slain ox.

Early next morning they set out very early so that they may be seen by no person whatsoever and come to a village which is nearby. For three days they tarry here and on the fourth day they journey to the village of Mayenge. In the meanwhile councillors (*abagabo*) have been sent by the sub-chiefs (*watwale*) to search for the chief. And having arrived in the village of Mayenge they all say " Mayenge, let us behold our chief " and Mayenge says " Where is our chief ? " and the councillors reply, " He is there in your house, for the news has gone round."

Mayenge then says " I cannot show you our chief till you give me a present (*nsuku*). " Then they count out about five shillings, and three or four bags of salt which have been brought for the purpose. By this time it is sun-set.

As soon as the councillors have been allowed to see the chief, he is brought out by Mayenge and presented to the people who have assembled to greet him. There is much rejoicing and beating of drums to show that he is coming into the Chieftainship. At midnight he sets out with many followers to arrive in the country of Karungwa, where there is a house guarded by a person called Mungwe. He is not permitted to enter at once, for the entrance to the house is blocked. This man, Mungwe, is supposed to know whether a person is chaste or not. As the Mwami attempts to enter, he pours a very potent medicine on his chest saying " Draw near, draw near, you who are Mwami of the spears." Then the chief is permitted to enter, amidst a great beating of drums. Next they dig a pit and place the butt of the large drum in it. The chief is seized by three men who whirl him round three times and place him on the drum, beating the soles of his feet three times as they say " *Vumerepha nyene ngoma*," that is " The drum agrees that it is yours." If the drum should fall, he is a pretender ; if it stands firm then he is the Mwami. This done the drum is carried outside and struck three times by Mungwe, and every one sleeps.

When the morning comes a bull is slaughtered so that the flesh may be carried to the Mwami. Here he remains for a space of five days. On the fifth day in the afternoon the ceremonial articles of apparel are brought to him : the skin of a goat fastened with a clasp of fig (*mrumba*), and a small box. He also receives a sickle together with three sticks of ripe *mtama* (*mkonge*) and every other kind of grain which is planted : these the chief holds in his hands ; the tail of a hare (*karwe*) is placed on his forehead.

After this they set out for the sacred grove which is called Isamiro, the place where all those who aspire to be *Mwami* must come. Here the sub-chiefs and the priests of every degree have already assembled to surround the Mwami on his arrival. There comes out from among them an *mtwale* (minor chief) who, taking the Mwami by the hand, turns him round three times. The time has come to give the Mwami his name.

Like the first *Mtwale*, another comes forward and says to the assembled multitude : " Take heed all of you, for some time past we have not had a chief, now we have been given another ; obey his commands without fear, for his name is Guassa." Then more minor chiefs stand up showing their acceptance by saying : " All we Ha have great joy indeed and we all of us beg you, Guassa, that you will guide us aright."

After this they bring out a girl child of about the age of five years. She it is who will be the chief's spirit wife (*Bibi ya Imana*). While all these people stand, the chief remains sitting there within the grove : the people throw leaves on his body till he is clothed with them, crying loudly : " He is our Mwami. He is our Mwami."

When this is done the Mwami is uncovered and reclothed with the royal skin and carried to the place of Mungwe (he of the hereditary office). This man puts off the royal clothes and replaces them with the bark of the *mrumba*. While this is being done the Mwami is enthroned on the shoulders of a man and surrounded with saplings of *mrumba* (fig). When the drum is struck three times he is received back into the care of Mungwe. There he stays for six nights and on the morning of the seventh day a sheep is brought and slaughtered so that its bowels fall into a hole which has been prepared. When this is done Mungwe plants three *mrumba* trees there ; and the soul of Imana (God) comes into the trees.

They then return to Kirungwe in the country of Mayenge. They must go slowly; as they pass the sacred places they must pause to give thanks to the spirits of the trees. The priests break off delicate branches of these trees and enclose their necks with them, and as they pass small heaps of white clay like ant-hills they pack them up and carry them. When all these have been packed up, they set off in another direction to a place which is called Songa.

At sunset three strokes of the drum announce the arrival of the Mwami and when the morning comes, that drum which has accompanied the chief in the course of his wanderings is hidden away so that it may not be seen by the other drums called Nyanga. The place of the sacred drums is at Songa. Quite alone, one man strikes these drums for a space of six days. Now in their turn the drums of Songa are put away so that they may not behold the drums of the Mwami, which are brought from their hiding place. And on the third day there come all the priests, who receive a bull, and there is a great beating of the drums.

Again at Songa, the Mwami is given a child wife; it is she who will intercede with the spirits. The heaps of white clay are lying not far off and all the people place a portion on their heads. That morning an *mtwale* arrives, bringing a male sheep and a girl child whose parents are still potent (*kirabompi*). When the sheep is slaughtered, six branches of the *mrumba* tree are brought. Three of these are planted after the fashion of those at Karunga: that is to say with the entrails of the slaughtered sheep. The *mtwale* (sub-chief) takes the other to plant in his village and the sacred white clay (*nyambona*) is placed on the newly planted trees. Thus the spirit of Imana will dwell in both these places.

Now the chief is taken to the sacred grove of Mirama where dwell the spirits. He must also set out with the five drums to arrive at the mountain called Buseko, the place of many stones. Here the drums are played for half an hour. Then are brought three great stones having sacred properties; the Priests, Bikadwagila, Masalo and Busigaliye, pay obeisance to the first stone; and other stones are worshipped by Whigwiza, the priest who lives near the stream called Noga. Again the people take the white clay (*nyambona*) and place it on their heads; even while they sleep they permit it to remain there, for those who do so are sure to be loved by the Mwami.

All these things having been accomplished, the chief returns from the wilderness and comes to Mirama. It is now that Nkatula, the keeper of the sacred spears, is called upon to carry them before the chief. They are M'Kalinga—most sacred of all, the spears of Uha, M'Kabagabo and M'Vlugera—and great rejoicings take place. After this the spears are returned to their guardian who removes them to their home at Jebera, where dwells also the drum Mutageweza. This ends the ceremony.

It seems to me that this description establishes without doubt that the Chief (Mwami), in being initiated into the solemn mystery of Divine Things, comes by that process to be identified with those Divine Things, *i.e.*, with that spirit called Imana, so that thereafter the crops, the birth of children and everything upon which the Ha tribesman depends, come from the great spirit Imana through the medium of the chief.

It is to be expected therefore that, before the chief comes into this new power, he must be forced to conform to all those ceremonies beloved of Imana. It is also necessary that he should go through tests such as the ordeal of the drum. The person to whom the chief arranges the ceremonies are delegated must be one who understands precisely what procedure should be adopted; so solemn is his function, that his office is sacred and hereditary. It is his business to initiate the new chief into the mysteries which are only known to the holder of his office and to the chiefs who have gone back to Imana.

When I have asked, just what sacred properties rocks, stones, trees and the like have, no reply has been given. But nothing must be left undone to ensure the complete transformation of the man into the Mwami. There is a difference of opinion as to what is done precisely with regard to the white clay, for instance. This clay, which is called *nyambona*, is placed on the newly planted fig trees sacred to Imana and what is left over, the people rub on their heads, thereby hoping to obtain the goodwill of the Mwami. It seems that there is very little distinction between the personality of Imana the God and Mwami the Chief; indeed they may be one and the same thing.

When the Mwami sets out before the dawn with his instructor Mungwe, it is very important that no

common person or indeed any person at all should look upon him. As Dr. Marett would say, he is full of *Mana* or, as one might say on this occasion, full of *Imana*. The night before setting out on this journey he is blessed with the spittle of ripe *mtama* (millet). Is this not done in the pious hope that *Imana* will cause the Chief to increase in fecundity and thus influence all his people in the same way? When the chief comes to hold in his hands "*mtama* and every other sort of grain which is "planted" he has arrived a step further in his initiation, he is now able to impart that strange power which causes "the seed to grow and the crops to ripen." When the chief ultimately comes to the grove where he is to receive his name, a virgin wife is brought to him, who besides being a virgin is the child of parents still able to bring forth offspring. There is some mysterious connexion between the virgin and the God: a sort of pure intermediary, should something go wrong.

The Chief is referred to as "The Mwami of the Spears." Does this mean that there must be a ceremony to ensure that through the Mwami the spears will not lose their strength, but will find their mark in times of stress or emergency, and that at the end of the ceremony the chief is considered worthy to hold the spear in which the strength of the whole tribe is typified? W. B. TRIPE.

### Physical Anthropology.

Wilson Parry.

**The Ovingdean Prehistoric Skull exhibiting Double Primitive Surgical Holing.** By T. Wilson Parry, M.A., M.D., F.S.A.

**55** My report upon this skull which appeared in *The Times*, February 4th, 1935, embodied the following: It was trawled from the sea, about three-quarters of a mile off the Sussex coast, opposite Ovingdean, by Mr. J. Gillan, on January 12th, 1935. It belonged to a man about 60 years of age, all the sutures being entirely obliterated. The surface and texture of the skull denote that it had been interred. As it was taken from the sea it may have been a cliff-burial, the fall of the cliff precipitating it on to the beach or into the sea direct, which view is supported by the fact that there was a large fall of the cliff the first week in January. It shows no signs of prolonged rolling. The skull is not complete.

Situated at the fore part of both parietals, an inch from the middle line on either side, are two well defined perforations. That on the right side is almost circular in shape and measures  $1\frac{5}{16}$  inches, in antero-posterior diameter, and  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches in the lateral diameter. That on the left parietal is roughly rhomboidal in shape, the long diameter (lateral) measuring  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches and the antero-posterior diameter being  $\frac{13}{16}$  inch.

In the interview granted to a representative of *The Times* (February 5th, 1935), Sir Grafton Elliot Smith, who had not seen the skull, conjectured from the illustration, that the 'holing' might have been due to a thinning of the bone to such an extent that a final dropping out of its central portion had ensued. This would mean that the parietal thinning would resolve itself into a simple atrophic process. An examination of the bone shows, however, that this was not the case, as the bone has been definitely trephined. Both operations were most probably performed at one and the same time. The method employed by the primitive surgeon was that used by men of the Third or Carnac Epoch of the Neolithic Period. This was done by scraping the bone with a flint-flake in such a way as to produce a funnel-shaped hole whose sides slope downwards and inwards towards the lumen. Both the holes show this scraping method in a characteristic manner. These operations were performed during life, as a lens reveals the fact that while a few of the little pores of the bone are filled up with new bone, showing a slight attempt at reparation; there has also been a great destruction of bone around the orifices, consequent upon a severe septic periostitis which would probably have lasted some six weeks.

Great Britain is singularly deficient in prehistoric 'trephined' skulls. Till now only two existed. First and foremost, the Thames skull, which exhibits, on its vertex, a completed operation, the individual making an excellent recovery. This specimen was dredged from the Thames at a spot just above the place where Hammersmith Bridge now stands, and it has the characteristically scraped foramen of Neolithic type. It is now in the London Museum. The second specimen was taken from a long barrow (neolithic) near Bisley, Gloucestershire. This shows an incomplete operation with no

signs of repair, which probably means that the patient died before the primitive surgeon was able to finish his operation. This specimen is now in the British Museum.

The epoch to which this curious rite of surgically 'holing' the skull (for the riddance of evil spirits) has been assigned, was the late Neolithic Period, neither earlier nor later. I do not know of a single instance of a Bronze Age 'trephined' skull having been found either in France, where the



THE OIVINGDEAN PREHISTORIC SKULL EXHIBITING DOUBLE PRIMITIVE SURGICAL 'HOLING.'

art was practised to a very large extent, or in England. If, however, such a skull were discovered, definitely belonging to the Early Bronze Age, when cremation was not practised, there is little doubt that it would bear the neolithic type of 'trephination,' as it is impossible at such a time that any other implement than that of stone would have been used for the operation. Judging by the operations on this skull, I would write it down as being Neolithic in date, the same as the other two surviving specimens to which I have already referred.

T. WILSON PARRY.

### Physical Anthropology.

Tildesley.

**The Ovingdean Skull.** *By M. L. Tildesley.*

The first account of the trephined skull fragment taken from the sea off Ovingdean, Sussex, on January 12th last, appeared in *The Times* of February 4th and provoked considerable correspondence. With one exception, subsequent writers had to deal with the evidence as given in the original article and illustration, without examination of the specimen itself. The exception was Dr. T. Wilson Parry, to whom as an authority on primitive trephination, the fragment

**56**



was first submitted. In his letter to *The Times* of February 8th and his article above, he deals with this aspect of the Ovingdean skull. It is left to the present writer, to whom it was also submitted, to deal with other aspects of the evidence for date.

First, as to skull-type. The conformation of this fragment does not, in my view, suffice to date it. Similar specimens could be found in almost any of the longer skull-series of different periods in Britain. While the prevailing type differs in these periods, the range of variation is not small, and the overlap very considerable. The trephine holes of the Ovingdean skull naturally make one look first for similar shapes among Neolithic skulls, and one can find them—among the Coldrum skulls, for instance—but also elsewhere.

The depression of the hinder portion of the Ovingdean sagittal suture is repeated, though less strongly, in Coldrum No. 2: but this again is a feature that occurs in many races. Of the usual cranial measurements, maximum breadth alone can be estimated on this imperfect specimen: the original breadth is unlikely to have been more than 1 or 2 mm. greater (if any) than that of the fragment, which is 143 mm. Of the British skull-series whose male means have been estimated, the greatest average breadth (149.9 mm.) is found among the Beaker people, the lowest (138.9) among the Neolithic,<sup>1</sup> and the average breadth of each is well covered by the range of variation of the other: the Ovingdean maximum breadth lies halfway between them. The account in *The Times* of February 4th quoted an opinion assigning it, on the evidence of type, to the Late Bronze Age. But this being a period at which cremation was the custom, we have no adequate evidence regarding skull-type at this period: and if we had, this fragment has no striking characteristics such as would mark it off from other populations of Britain.

Next, as to texture and colour of the bone. It is hard, suggesting mineralization, and is a light grey in colour. The nearness of the fragment to the coast, and the recent fall of cliff to which Dr. Parry refers, naturally suggest that the skull came from a burial on the cliffs. Its colour and consistency, however, are not the same as in other bones from the chalk. Thus, the neolithic skeletons recently excavated by Dr. Cecil Curwen from Brighton racecourse (2½ miles from the cliff-fall) are much whiter, and more fragile—less metallic in appearance and feel; and have the same whiteness as is characteristic of bones of other periods from graves in the chalk. The account of February 4th suggested a second alternative to such burial, namely, the submerged forest-bed. Inquiry was therefore made as to the colour of bones from the submerged forest—whether this were the familiar dark brown of bones from river-bed peat. Mr. F. W. Anderson, of the Geological Museum, who has long studied the products of the submerged forest off Southampton, informs the writer that these are inky-black when first brought up, but that in a day or two, as soon, in fact, as they have dried out, they turn a pale grey. What then was the colour of this fragment when found? I have to thank Dr. Eliot Curwen for ascertaining it, and for furnishing the following relevant facts. The bone when found was of the same light grey shade as now.<sup>2</sup> There is no submerged forest near Ovingdean, and that which lies some 30 miles to the east is ruled out by the set of tide and current. The one near Southampton extends eastward to Elmer by Middleton certainly, and probably to Rustington, but this place is no less than 21 miles west of Ovingdean in a direct line. If the bone had been more than two or three weeks in the water, acorn-barnacles or other sea creatures would have attached themselves, and it would have taken longer than that to drift from Rustington; also in such a journey it would have been much damaged by rolling beach-stones.

Its origin must, therefore, be sought elsewhere than in the neolithic submerged forest; and we look again to the cliff as origin, to its quite recent fall as the reason for the lack of barnacles, and to the three weeks in salt water as probably accounting for the colour and consistency of the bone. Since shape does not date it, the trephine holes become the only clue to period. As Dr. Parry has said, while the evidence for trephination in England is very slight, that little points to the Neolithic period; though it may be added that our one dated specimen is only presumptively Neolithic, for Bisley was a 19th century excavation and there are no detailed records to exclude the possibility of the trephined

<sup>1</sup> G. M. Morant. *Biometrika*, XVIII, 82.

<sup>2</sup> The trawl was let down one mile off the Brighton coast, dragged eastwards, and drawn ½ mile off Ovingdean.

frontal coming from a secondary burial. Nor do the records show which of the Neolithic cultures, recognized by modern archæology, produced Bisley long barrow. Mr. Stuart Piggott informs me that no link has as yet been definitely established between the British and any of those Neolithic and post-Neolithic cultures on the Continent which have given samples of trephining.<sup>3</sup> M. L. TILDESLEY.

## ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE : PROCEEDINGS.

**The Problem of the Primitive Tribes in India.** *Summary of a Communication presented by A. Aiyappan, Esq., Local Correspondent for Madras. 5th March, 1935.*

The process of submerging the primitive tribes in the dominant sections of the Indian peoples has been going on for centuries. The English administration introduced a third complicating factor into the sociological picture. The *laissez faire* policy, followed by the Government in the earlier days of British occupation, affected the tribes adversely by indirectly facilitating their exploitation. The Scheduled Districts Act of 1874 and the Land Alienation Acts of more recent years came too late to be of real value to many of the tribes. The importance of the aboriginal problem does not seem to have been adequately realized at the time of the Reforms in 1919. The recent Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Reforms fully recognized the need for giving special protection to the inhabitants of the 'backward areas,' as these tribes constitute the most helpless and non-vocal minority in India, and was anxious to devise a governmental machinery which would ensure them the necessary protection in the surest and promptest manner. The total exclusion of Assam and the partial exclusion of other major tribal areas from the jurisdiction of the reformed legislatures and the placing of them in the charge of the provincial governors as a special responsibility, is the recommendation of the Joint Parliamentary Committee. There is some difference of opinion regarding one of the areas excluded, *viz.*, Chota Nagpur. Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy, the great authority on the tribes of this area is of the view that this extremely belated 'spoon feeding' and 'political sheltering' is now unnecessary for the tribes of the Chota Nagpur area. This divergence of opinion indicates the need for fuller sociological inquiry into the conditions of the tribes and for basing ultimate decisions on really scientific data.

The policy of exclusion applies only to the larger tribes. The smaller tribes are deteriorating and heading towards extinction as a result of disease, absence of medical aid, general impoverishment, interference in their natural rights in the jungle land by the Forest Departments of the Provincial Governments, loss of tribal land through alienation by land-grabbers and money-lenders, breaking up of communal life and the growth of newly acquired vices, such as alcoholism. As it was not possible to deal with these problems constitutionally, the Joint Parliamentary Committee has in the course of its discussions indicated the lines on which the Provincial Governments could tackle them.

The necessity for controlling missionary activities has been stressed by Dr. Hutton and Mr. Mills. Towards Hinduism the tribes have an almost natural gravitation, but one great evil brought about by Hinduisation is the tendency to pigeonhole the tribes into the lowest 'depressed' or 'exterior' categories. A great service that could be done to the tribes would be to save them from this stigmatization. 'The creation of self-governing tribal areas with free power of self-determination,' as suggested by Dr. Hutton, seems to be the best solution of most of the aboriginal problems. More such tribal units could be made if provincial and district boundaries, that now arbitrarily separate tribes into groups under different kinds of authorities, were removed wherever possible.

**The Worora Tribe of North-West Australia.** *Illustrated by a film, presented to the British Museum by Mr. H. R. Balfour, with a commentary by the Rev. J. R. B. Love, M.A., M.C., D.C.M. Summary of a Communication with lantern slides presented by Mr. H. J. Braunholtz, 19th March. 1935.*

The Worora, or Wurara tribe, numbering about 350 persons, occupies the Kunmunya Government Reserve, of 240,000 acres, situated between the Glenelg and Prince Regent rivers, in the

<sup>3</sup> Of these, Prof. V. Gordon Childe in his *Dawn of European Civilization*, 1925, instances the lake-dwellings of Switzerland (Neol. I), the later Neolithic Seine-Oise-Marne culture, the Danubian bell-beaker culture (also late Neol.), a Pyrenean Chalcolithic culture, and, most abundantly, the megaliths of the Cevennes, which in that backwater of culture, lasted on even into the Early Iron Age.

Kimberley District of North-West Australia. Although they have been for some years subject to the influence of the Presbyterian Mission at Kunmunya, they still live chiefly by hunting, fishing and root-gathering, and continue to manufacture stone axes and stone spearheads by stone-age methods. In their country and that of their neighbours the Ngarinjin, occur numerous paintings of human and other figures in caves and rock-shelters, some of which were first reported by Sir George (then Captain) Grey in 1837-39, and the explanation of which has been the subject of much controversy. It is still uncertain whether they may not have originated through some foreign influence: but it is now known that they have a definite and important place in the beliefs of the aborigines, who regard them representative of an ancient creative spirit, called Wondjina, and believe that their prosperity and food-supply depend upon the periodical renewal of the paintings.<sup>1</sup>

The subjects illustrated by the film<sup>2</sup> are as follows, and in this order: man paddling a double raft (*kahlua*); Ngarinjin tribe arriving on a friendly visit to the Worora; women spinning human hair; men making stone spear-points (4 processes); Worora men walking to and dancing on sacred ground; Ngarinjin men dancing and bringing in sacred objects; Worora men dancing and singing; a headman showing the visitors an 'Arunta *churinga*' and explaining it; making 'damper' between the dances; types of Worora men on sacred ground; Worora 'emu' corroboree, showing 'eagle-hawk' man; men flaking stone axes: women grinding and hafting stone axes: men making fire with the fire-drill.

**Stonehenge and its Problems.** *Produced by Mr. A. Moncrieff Davidson, film by Mr. James S. Hodgson. F.R.P.S. Commentary by Mr. Gerald Heard. March 19th. 1935.*

**59** The film opens with shots which gradually come closer and closer. We see what remains of Stonehenge to-day: next, a reconstructive model of what it was probably like when newly built, with a pointer indicating the formation of circles and horse-shoes. Again at Stonehenge we trace the circles and horse-shoes to-day, and see the system of tenons and mortice-holes, and of dovetailing, used to keep the stones fixed. Now on the Marlborough Downs, whence the builders fetched them, we see the rough Sarsens and a diagram explains how they were erected and how the lintels were raised into position. An air photograph, by Major Allen, shows the ditch and bank round the stones and the beginning of the Avenue: then are shown the Slaughter-stone and the Heel-stone: the actual mid-summer sunrise on June 22nd, 1932; the barrows on the plain: Woodhenge, whence the wood-technique was learned; Avebury, to show where the handling of megaliths originated; and the January sun setting between the stones.

The original film was entirely taken in the summer of 1934, by the exhibitor and his wife on Ciné-Kodak 16 m/m film. It was retaken professionally in January, 1935, and is now being distributed by Reunion Films, Ltd., 91, Regent Street, W.1. It is the first of a series of six similar films which, it is hoped, may be completed by June 30th. That entitled 'White Horses,' includes those of the South of England, the Red Horse of Tysor, the Wilmington and Carne Abbas men, George III at Weymouth, the crosses near Princes Risborough, the Kiwi and the regimental badges elsewhere. It should be ready by March 31st.

#### **An Anthropometric Survey of Great Britain.**

**60** Anthropologists must have often felt the need for co-ordination of researches dealing with the racial history and present racial constitution of the inhabitants of Great Britain. There have been several noteworthy studies of the subject, but these only cover small parts of the field, and a great deal of new evidence will be needed before it will be possible to answer many of the major questions involved with any approach to finality. With the object of satisfying this want, the Royal Anthropological Institute is projecting an anthropometric survey of the past and present populations of the country. A letter in *The Times* of March

13th, 1935 appeals for donations, which may be sent to the Hon. Treasurer of the Institute, in aid of this purpose. It is signed by 20 people, of whom the majority are anthropologists, and it is explained that money is needed to enable trained workers to collect new material relating to living people and skeletal remains preserved in various museums, and also to aid the publication of technical reports and popular summaries of the results obtained. The letter is reprinted below.

AN ANTHROPOMETRIC SURVEY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

To the Editor of *The Times*.

SIR,—Britain has lagged behind many other countries in  
*Journ. R. Soc. West. Aust., XII. (1929-30).*

<sup>1</sup> cf. A. P. Elkin 'Rock-paintings of N.W. Australia' *Oceania*, I. 3 (1930), and J. R. B. Love 'Rock-paintings of the Worora and their mythical interpretation.'

<sup>2</sup> The film is of the 16 m, m Ciné-Kodak 'safety' type, and about 350 ft. in length.

carrying out organized research into the racial history and the present physical constitution of its population, though individual efforts of some magnitude have covered parts of the country.

To remedy this state of affairs and to encourage scientific co-operation, the Royal Anthropological Institute wishes to set on foot a comprehensive survey of the past and present populations of Great Britain.

The methods by which such investigations can best be conducted are generally recognized. There is involved the arduous collection, reduction, mapping and interpretation from more than one standpoint of a mass of data by a number of trained workers who can be found if the funds are available. Money will be required:—

- (1) To give grants to the workers who would take exact measurements of groups of living people and who would measure the skeletal remains preserved in museums and elsewhere;
- (2) To pay for the necessary scientific instruments;
- (3) To pay the travelling expenses of the workers;

(4) To help towards publishing scientific reports and popular summaries of the results obtained.

A really comprehensive survey would lead to conclusions of both scientific and national importance, conclusions which would throw light not only on our history but also on sociological and medical questions.

Donations in aid of the projected Anthropometric Survey of Great Britain will be gratefully acknowledged by the Hon. Treasurer, Royal Anthropological Institute, 52, Upper Bedford Place, London, W.C.1.

(Signed) JOHN BEATTIE. ALEX. LOW.  
L. H. DUDLEY. MESTON.  
BUXTON. G. M. MORANT.  
R. A. FISHER. JOHN L. MYRES.  
H. J. FLEURE. ONSLOW.  
CYRIL FOX. RAGLAN.  
R. RUGGLES GATES. R. U. SAYCE.  
R. A. GREGORY. C. G. SELIGMAN.  
JULIAN S. HUXLEY. HENRY WELLCOME.  
ARTHUR KEITH. MATTHEW YOUNG.  
EDWIN W. SMITH,

President, R.A.I.

13th March, 1935.

## REVIEWS.

**The Arts of West Africa.** Edited by Sir Michael Sadler. Published under the auspices of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures. Oxford University Press, 1935. xi + 101 pp., plates 32, bibliography. Price 5s.

The small but interesting exhibition of Negro Art recently arranged at the Adams Gallery, consisted not only of indigenous negro art, but of modern negro art influenced by modern white teaching, and also of European artists who have taken negro subjects for their paintings.

To take the least important group first: the paintings by Epstein, Meninsky and Mark Gertler do not represent those well-known artists at their best, and seem a somewhat sterile straining after forms and symbols which have no real vital significance to the white artist and are artificially imposed from without. On the other hand, the drawings and views by G. A. Stevens are attractive and accomplished landscape and figure studies, with no attempt at 'negro art,' except in so far as they are drawn and painted in Africa.

The second group of exhibits, by modern native craftsmen taught by Europeans, is more interesting in its promise for the future than for actual achievement. Taken in conjunction with Mr. Stevens' articles in 'Africa'<sup>1</sup> and in 'The Arts of West Africa' reviewed below (MAN, 1935, 61), it opens up a fascinating vista for the future of African art.

No one would deny that the African, especially the West African, had a feeling for form and volume, a power to evoke strong emotional significance from line and plane, and a technical skill, which have not been surpassed in the history of sculpture. As Sir William Rothenstein points out in his lucid introduction to 'The Arts of West Africa,' Europe has lately woken up to this fact, and also to the other and disturbing fact that what

they admire is dissolving before their eyes—that with the decay of religious and tribal institutions and the clash of cultures the arts and crafts of Africa are disintegrating and disappearing with terrible rapidity. And the only hope of solution lies, as Mr. Stevens shows, in teaching the young African not to strive after white ideals, not to waste hours in the 'brushwork' of the English elementary school, but to try to revive from his innate sensibility and cultural tradition an art which will depend on his daily life, his spontaneous emotions, for expression.

For example, in this exhibition there are two vivid and significant paintings by the modern Senegalese artist, Kalifala Sidi-Je, of two scenes of domestic life in his tribe; there is a powerful and humorous English woman's head, carved in the best African traditions by a living man of Benin; there is a cock for an umbrella handle delightfully executed in 1930 by a Gold Coast native; and apart from the exhibition, there is Captain Rattray's book of Ashanti folk-tales illustrated by living students of Achimota College.

Naturally the group of primitive negro art is the most interesting to readers of MAN, and probably the most aesthetically satisfying to students of negro culture. The most striking exhibits are perhaps the two fine and typical Gabon heads (Nos. 24 and 25) lent by Sir Michael Sadler; the painted dance mask of an elephant's head (No. 11) from the Cameroon Mountain, lent by Liverpool Museum; the beautifully designed and executed crucifix fetish from Angola (No. 52), lent by the Baptist Missionary Society; the two nail-studded fetiches from the Lower Congo (Nos. 65 and 69); the two bronze figures from Benin (Nos. 62 and 63), lent by Captain Fuller and Lord Lugard; and a really wonderful feat of technical skill, the nude

<sup>1</sup> 'The Future of African Art,' *Africa*, Vol. III, No. 2, p. 150.

man on a stool from the Ivory Coast (No. 71), lent by Sir Michael Sadler. The textiles are also fine and curiously related to modern tendencies in England. Aesthetically, perhaps the most attractive exhibit is a ghost mask of a woman from Gabon (No. 6); anthropologically perhaps the fetish of a Roman Catholic saint, St. Anthony with the Infant Christ, from Angola.

Though this exhibition is not so complete or on such a high aesthetic level as some exhibitions of Primitive Negro Art, notably that at Reid and Lefevre's Gallery in May, 1933, it has this important innovation: the exhibits are assigned a provenance and a tribe, and a note is given in the catalogue on the probable use of the mask, statue or object. Up till now, anthropology and art history have gone their ways with little attempt at mutual support and assistance. Art historians like Roger Fry have admired and studied negro art from a purely aesthetic point of view and with no reference to the religious and social beliefs represented. Anthropologists and archaeologists have documented and described their discoveries, but have seldom tried to arrange or look upon them as things of beauty or power, significant to all lovers of creative art. This exhibition-catalogue and the detailed description of plates in the 'Arts of West Africa,' both prepared by Richard Carline, are an important step on the way to bringing these two sciences of anthropology and art history together.

Mr. Carline in his catalogue raisonné of the plates goes for his anthropological sources to Rattray, Torday and Joyce, and this is excellent; but he has not assembled enough reliable data for many of his attributions to particular tribes, relying on evidence from early nineteenth-century explorers and missionaries as to e.g., modes of hair-dressing, skin cicatrices, and so on, which further detailed comparative study would probably prove to be more complicated. For evidence such as this has to take into account tribal wanderings, the influence of sculptors who have settled from neighbouring tribes, the spread of particular modes and rites from tribe to tribe, and other factors. In this

difficult and uncharted territory, an anthropologist trained in scientific research and with far-reaching comparative knowledge is necessary. A small point, illustrating a somewhat loose and unscientific method of approach, is Mr. Carline's use of the terms 'ultramarine,' 'vermilion,' 'yellow ochre' in his description of the painting on the objects illustrated in the 'Arts of West Africa.' This does not indicate, as one would at first suppose, the actual pigments employed, but merely the shade of colour expressed in the phraseology of a white artist, for later on we read 'prussian blue,' 'venetian red,' and other modern terms. But we should be grateful for a pioneer attempt to join the hands of two sister sciences.

A. B. V. DREW.

#### The Uganda Journal. Vol. I. nos. 1 and 2.

**62** This journal sets out to do for Uganda what *Sudan Notes and Records* has done for the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. It is a repository for knowledge of the history, natural history, and ethnography of Uganda and will surely stimulate its readers to record observations which might otherwise be lost to science. The Uganda Literary and Scientific Society may be congratulated on their first volume, and it is a pleasure to draw the attention of Africanists to the valuable material it contains. The annual subscription is 10s., and the journal may be obtained from the Hon. Secretary, P.O., Kampala.

Those papers of more direct ethnological interest are, 'Bark-cloth Making in Buganda,' by A. D. F. T.; 'Mutesa of Buganda,' by J. M. Gray; several notes on the Acholi by R. M. Bere; 'Ethnological Notes on the 'Karimojong,' by Capt. E. M. Persse; 'Some Notes on 'the Reign of Mutesa,' by Om. Ham Mukasa (in Luganda with an English translation); and 'The Population Map 'of Uganda: A Geographical Interpretation,' by S. J. K. Baker.

E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD.

#### AFRICA.

**L'Afrique Fantôme.** By Michel Leiris. Paris, Librairie Gallimard, 1934. 529 pp., plates.

**63** This is a travel diary of the French expedition from the Atlantic (Dakar) to the Red Sea. There are a few interesting photographs. Otherwise the book has little scientific value.

E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### Female Fertility Figures.

**64** SIR,—In MAN, 1934, 206, Major D. H. Gordon queries Mr. H. C. Lawlor's statement that "the term *Sheela-na-gig* has no etymological meaning, "and is an absurd name," and quotes Austin Clarke's translation of the term as 'Sheila of the Paps,' asking, 'Does *ḡCich* mean paps.' In the translation of Micheál ó Cléirigh's recension of the *Leabhar Gabála* ('Book of 'Conquests'), by Professors R. A. Stewart Macalister and John MacNeill, chapter viii, sub-entitled, 'Of the 'Genealogy of some of the Tuatha De,' verse 103 reads:

"Badh, Macha, and Moir-Rigan, the three daughters  
"of Dealbaeth,<sup>1</sup> son of Ned, son of Ionda. Embas,

"daughter of Eatarlamh, son of Ordan, son of Iondae,  
"son of Alldae, was mother of all those women. Mor-  
"Riogan had another name, Ana; from her are named  
"the Paps of Anann [*Ciche Anann*] in East Luachair.  
"Dona, daughter of Dealbaeth, son of Oghma, son of  
"Ealathan, was mother of Brian, Iucharba and Iuchar,  
"and they are called the three gods of Dona; from them  
"are the Tuatha De Danann called; for Tuatha De was  
"their name till those arrived among them, and Tuatha  
"De Danann was their name afterwards."

Now, Moir-Rigan, 'the great Queen'—the 'Morrigan' of Irish folk tradition—is one of the three aspects of the ancient Mother Goddess of the Gaelic literary druidic (or bardic) theosophy. Borv (to give her an anglicized

<sup>1</sup> *Delbraeth* = Form of divine Fire. From him issued 'five forms.' He is also called Lugaid (=Lugh). See *Celtic Ireland*, John MacNeill, Dublin, 1921, p. 51, quoting old genealogies. See, too, p. 54. for Lugh as *Lugaid Cichech* (=Lugh of the Paps) in one of these pedigrees.

pronunciation), another aspect, was the boiling or gushing one (compare the Gaulish bi-sexed Borv or Borvo), and Macha, another aspect, was the Crow, or, as I think more probable, the *gru* or crane (compare the figuration of Thoth, the 'Word,' as the Egyptian crane), the symbolic messenger-bird of the goddess. The other name for her, our Irish chronicle tells us, is Ana—associated with *Ciche* or paps. Dona, Dana, or Brigit, sister-goddess of Ana, according to this 'genea-logy'—which I consider to be a Christian recension of a bardic symbolic genealogy—is mother of the three-fold God of whom Brian, the Shining-One, is one aspect; Brian, who is sometimes, in the Christian literature, the father of Lugh, but sometimes his doublet, or, one might say, the Dark aspect of Lugh when Lugh is identified with Day, a character he preserves in folk tradition in the Western Isles of Scotland, *v.* Henderson, *Survivals in Belief among the Celts*, 1911, pp. 68 ff., Carmichael, *Carmina Gadelica*, 1928, Vol. I, p. 198, and pp. 121 ff., Appendix II to my own "Report on the 'Re-excavation of the Déhus Chambered Mound, 'Guernsey,'" published by the Société Guernesiaise, 1935.

J. Przyluski, "Le Culte de la grande déesse," *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, T. cxviii, p. 54, quoting the famous passage in the *Rig-Veda Samhitā*, I.6.v (lxxxix) 10:—

"Aditi is Heaven; Aditi is the Firmament; Aditi is "Mother, Father, Son; Aditi is all the gods and the five "kinds of beings; Aditi is that which is born and that "which is about to be"

tells us that Aditi was the 'Great Mother,' the *Anā-hita* of the Avesta, rendered by the Greeks *Anāitis*, and adopted in Persian as the name of the planet Venus in the form *Ana-hid* (also called *Ardvi*), and he suggests that *Ardvi* may be Lydian and the rootform of the Etruscan *Artume* and the Greek *Artemis*. He considers that both names derived from the Asian and Syrian forms *Nanaī* and *Tanaī(s)*—*ti* being a feminine suffix. (Compare *Nana*, *Nin*, and *Nin-Anna*, Sumerian forms of the Semitic Ishtar, *An* equaling 'first principle.') Then he points out that the Avestan *Ardvi* is the 'Great 'River' or 'Source' as well as the 'Great Mother,' and that the River Tanais is also the Scythian Don and the Celtic Danuvius or Danube. From this he infers that the Celtic Don or Dana, the Great Goddess, is likewise the 'Great River,' mystic source of all being—as, I may add, she is the 'Source of Poetic Inspiration' of the *féedh*, the 'sons of Dana,' under her other name of Brigit, the Shining One, in the old Irish literature.

Is it not possible, then, that the grotesque *Sheila-na-Ciche* really represents the great 'Mother of the faithful 'breast' (as Ishtar is called in a Babylonian poem, *v. Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*, Stephen Langdon, 1909, p. 192), the 'begetting Mother' (*ibid.*, p. 33), the Dana or Divine Source of Being, gushing or 'boiling' as a perennial spring of life and intelligence, the 'Great 'Queen' of 'that which is born and that which is 'about to be,' and that her attitude in such representations is expressly designed to symbolize the truth that she is, indeed, "the begetting Mother . . . the "Queen of Heaven" (*ibid.*, p. 33)? In the Near East there are representations of the goddess, pressing her paps, conveying the same idea that she is the 'source' of perennial nourishment as of being itself.

The question of this Celtic 'Great Mother' is a large one, and I have gone into it at length in the Appendix already cited, and also in the chapter on 'Cult' in my forthcoming 'Report on the Excavation for Sir Robert 'Mond and Baron Surcouf of the Iron Age *allée couverte* 'at Tressé, Ille et Vilaine,' a megalithic monument *historique* in which a pair of virginal breasts, side by side with a pair of nursing 'paps,' were realistically

sculptured in relief on the stone uprights of the inner secret chamber.

Can some Gaelic or Sanskrit scholar now give us the derivation of *Cile*, *anglicé* 'Sheila'? There is a Breton verb *silein*, 'to flow' or 'infiltrate,' and I fancy there is an Irish word *cuille* for a tidal 'flow.'

V. C. C. COLLUM.

P.S.—Cf. Prof. A. Meillet *Introduction à l'Etude comparative des Langues Indo-Européennes* (Paris, 1922), ch. viii (Vocabulary), p. 349:

"La racine qui indique l'écoulement d'un liquide en "général dans skr. *śṛnōti* 'il fait sortir un 'liquide "par pression,' lit. *śulā* 'sève (de bouleau),' v.h.a. *sou* " 'sève' servait dès l'indo-européen à exprimer l'idée "de pluie, comme on le voit par la coïncidence de gr. " *dei* avec tokharien B *suwam* 'il pleut,' *swece* 'pluie.' " Pour avoir une idée exacte de la valeur d'une racine "indo-européenne, il faut connaître ces emplois par- " ticuliers, de même qu'on ne connaît vraiment un mot "d'une langue que si l'on sait dans quelles phrases il "figure d'ordinaire."

Thus it seems possible that the Irish word, *anglicé* 'Sheila' when used in particular conjunction with *ciche* 'paps,' does indicate a triple idea of fecundation by water (source or rain) and by 'sève' (especially the sap of the 'birchen rod') and a nourishment from paps where a liquid flows by pressure, as in the Asiatic figurines of the Mother Goddess pressing her breasts.—V.C.C.C.

#### Female Fertility Figures.

SIR,—*Sheela-na-gig* is Irish *Sile*, 'Celia,' na *g-cíé*, 'of the breasts' or paps—the *g* eclipsing the initial *c* in obedience to a well-established rule of Irish grammar. The word in this sense has been in common use both in Irish and in Scottish Gaelic from early times till now and is very well known.

According to a note in *Trans. R.S.A. Ireland*, 5th Series, IV, (1894), Pt. I., this term was heard only once in answer to a question addressed by Mr. R. P. Colles to 'an uninformed man.' Asked if there was a special name for the figure, found at Rochestown, Co. Tipperary, the 'uninformed man' mentioned *Sheela-na-gig*, and without any further questioning this name has been adopted.

It could not be translated 'Sheela of the Castle': this name has come in another way. In Windele's MS. of *Cloyne and Ross*, in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, there is this note, in reference to a female figure described: "one of these old Fetish figures often "found in Ireland on the front of churches as well as "castles. They are called 'Hags of the Castle,' and "when placed above the keystone of the door arch were "supposed to possess a tutelary or protective power, "so that the enemy passing by would be disarmed of "evil intent against the building on seeing it."

The churches on which they are found are noted to be usually within the limits of districts held by Anglo-Norman invaders; as they fell into ruin, the figures were preserved as talismans and transferred to castles. The people seem to have regarded them with special attention and to have brought them out on occasion as charms; a priest at Barnahealy, Co. Cork, attempted to abolish this practice, but the 'idol' was concealed. In other places, too, such figures have been found buried. As Miss Murray observes, the name is of no importance; it varies from one district to another and was apparently used in a spirit of familiar jocularity. At Dowth, Co. Meath, one of these figures on an old church is called Saint Shanahan, which may mean 'Saint Old 'Lore,' or 'Saint anything well-known but not greatly 'respected.'

MARY M. BANKS.

**Folk Park and Museum, New Barnet.**

**66** SIR.—It is perhaps not generally known that a Folk Park and Museum was opened last summer at New Barnet. The Government having been often, and vainly, solicited to support such a Folk Park, it has been left for a private individual to tackle the task.

The Rev. Father Ward, its constructor and originator, aims at showing the evolution of social life in England in such a way as to make it interesting and instructive to the general public. His prehistoric village, with various types of daub-and-wattle and dug-out huts, models of looms, potter's-wheel, etc., has proved very attractive to many parties of school children. His collections of implements showing the successive flint, bronze and iron ages are well arranged and small enough for the ordinary visitor, who is dazed by the masses of specimens in a big museum, to follow and understand the series.

A fine tithe-barn, a blacksmith's forge and rooms furnished in various styles lead up to the Victorian era. As a means of popularizing the study of Anthropology such an exhibition is unrivalled. The Abbey Folk-Park, Park Road, New Barnet, is open every day except Sunday. It is to be hoped that Fellows of the Royal Anthropological Institute will visit it and do what they can to aid its further development by their advice or by contributing specimens. M. E. DURHAM.

**Stone-Age Man in St. Helena.**

**67** SIR,—I sent you some little time ago a note on possible stone implements of St. Helena. I have to-day seen a considerable collection from the same site, and can rest assured that all the objects shown to me are completely natural, or are road-metal. There seems to be considerable movement of rubble and talus from the mountains, which often yields material resembling implements. I am quite certain that the objects I first saw were from such a source.

A. J. H. GOODWIN.

The University, Cape Town.

**Social Origins.**

**68** SIR,—We are often told that the functional school studies cultures as they are, and does not concern itself with the past, yet Professor Malinowski, in his introduction to Dr. Hogbin's *Law and Order in Polynesia*, alleges that all those who challenge his theories of social origins "deny the reality of the family or parental group," and thereby show themselves to be "second-rate minds" (p. xlv). As he includes me among these, perhaps I may be allowed to say that I have never denied the reality of the family or parental group—it would be absurd to do so—but I do deny that Professor Malinowski knows exactly the part which this group played, untold ages ago, in the evolution of our social system or systems. Our evidence is of course imperfect, but such as it is, it seems to me to give no support to Professor Malinowski's theories.

We may well distrust his theories of the past, since his theories of the present are so ill-founded. He says, for example, on p. xlix, that marriage "must necessarily" be accompanied by as complete an economic communism as ever exists in human relations." This must mean that unless husband and wife pool their property in the way that members of a religious fraternity pool their property, there can be no marriage. In that case there can be no marriage in England. Here the usual custom is for a man to give his wife an allowance, and thousands of women have no idea what their husbands' incomes are. Even if husband and

wife wished to pool their property, they would not, except for income tax purposes, be allowed by law to do so. Nor does true marriage, in the Malinowskian sense, exist among those Arab and Negro societies with which I am acquainted. Perhaps, it is confined to the Trobriand Islands. RAGLAN.

**Beehive Graves and Moslem Domes. Cf. MAN, 1935, 21.**

**69** SIR,—In the cemetery of the fortified village of Enfida in Eastern Tunis, I saw, in 1897, all grades of domed tombs of *qubba* type, from cubical structures of masonry, surmounted by a hemispherical dome to china-ware tea-cups, set inverted over the poorer graves. The largest *qubba* appears in Fig. 1 on

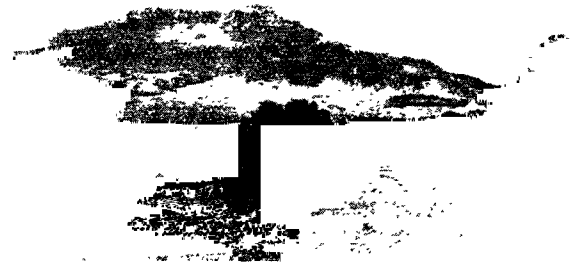


FIG. 1.—ENFIDA VILLAGE, TUNIS, WITH CEMETERY AND QUBBA TOMBS.

the slope to the left of the citadel; the smaller ones are on the open slope between the olive-tree tops in the centre and left-hand of the foreground. I had no reason to suppose that all or any of the persons here buried were 'saints'; but outside the modern settlement of Enfida-



FIG. 2.—SAINT'S TOMB NEAR ENFIDA-VILLE RAILWAY STATION, TUNIS.

Ville, by the railway station, I photographed the wayside structure illustrated in Fig. 2 (repeated from MAN, 1903, 30, where it is described as a 'Tunisian Ghost-house'), made of mud and whitewashed, with a few votive rags which showed it to be a 'saint's tomb.' The umbrella in front of it is mine. JOHN L. MYRES.







FIG. 1. FIGURINE FROM MATHURA: FRONT.



FIG. 2. FIGURINE FROM MATHURA: BACK.



FIG. 3. SQUATTING GODDESS FROM KANARAK, ORISSA.



FIG. 4. SHRINE ON ROOF OF KAILASA TEMPLE, ELURA.

# M A N

## A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

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### ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

India.

With Plate E.

Codrington.

Iconography : Classical and Indian. By K. de B. Codrington.

Dr. M. A. Murray in *J.R.A.I.*, LXIV, p. 95, has called attention to the Baubo toad-goddess myth and its possible connections with the Sheila-na-gig figures of the churches of two specific areas in Western Europe. These little female figures are distinguished by their squatting posture, the pudenda being fully displayed and often touched by one or both hands. In the India Museum there is a small terracotta figure in the form of a toad, cast from a double mould and stick-finished with impressed dots and incisions, the under side of which displays a squatting goddess very reminiscent of the Sheila-na-gigs. The figure came to the Museum without a detailed pedigree, but it was associated with two other terracotta figurines and a number of minor sculptures in mottled red sandstone, which may confidently be assigned to Mathura, the capital of the Kushan dynasty, early second century A.D. Moreover, the treatment of the figure itself and the details of the beaded belt, necklace and hair, all of which are of the native Indian tradition, leave little doubt that it must be assigned to the same provenance and date. **70**

As to its purpose, it will be noted that the breasts and face are somewhat flattened, the unfired casting having been set toad-side upwards to dry-off before firing. It shows no signs of attrition, but it has struck me that, possibly, it was intended to be used as a strigil; the toad-back provided a convenient hand-hold. The beautiful Greek bronze mirror-stands, with handles consisting of a maiden standing on a toad [Metropolitan Museum, New York, *Catalogue of Bronzes*, plate 49], which are usually described as Spartan sixth-fifth century B.C., are, of course, toilet instruments, and the legendary Baubo was a hand-maiden. But, whatever the purpose of this terracotta may have been, the association of the goddess squatting in her nakedness, and the toad, inevitably suggests both Baubo and the Sheila-na-gigs. The date is significant. Naked goddesses, displaying their charms, with the hands touching the pudenda, are known in India. The Bharhut goddesses are of this kind and so are the railing-figures from Mathura itself, which are of the same period as the toad figurine. The toad intrudes into Indian folklore, as it does most persistently into the privacy of one's garden and bathroom each year at the breaking of the rains. But this very specialized, highly worked figurine, cast from a mould and, therefore, in demand in quantity, seems to be of the Baubo descent, rather than of indigenous inspiration. For one thing, Indian iconography had only just emerged, and Mathura was the scene of the new development. The Indian Buddha figure appears on Kanishka's coins rubbing shoulders in a polyglot and hybrid Olympus with Helios, Mao, Athro, Manaio, and many others. The Kushans had made their way into India from Central Asia, via the traditionally debatable frontier-land, which is now called Afghanistan. Alexander's traces had long been covered up, and his influence, political as well as artistic, translated beyond recognition. The thundering Zeus of the coins of Azes is a distant relation of the types of Diodotus and Agathocles. Apart from the progressive degeneration of the Hellenistic coins, the provincial Roman art of Sirkap, the Taxila of the first century B.C., must be taken into consideration, as the witness of special contacts. Westward, the amorphous barbarianism of the Parthians was shortly to give place to Sassanian individuality, and Sassanian metalwork alone clearly demonstrates that Indian influence then extended far beyond her

geographical frontiers. At all events under Kushan patronage at Mathura, Indian iconography—Jain, Buddhist and Brahmanical—came into being, and at the same time the hybrid art, which is still mis-called Græco-Buddhist, appeared in Central Asia, Afghanistan, and Gandhara. The trade of Taxila and Mathura must have been conducted in many languages, as, indeed, the trade of Lahore, Agra and Delhi were in Mughal times, when copies of famous Christian paintings were sent from Italy to India and there aroused the greatest interest and attention.

Gandharan art provides its own problems. Its Apollo-like Buddhas and its Zeus-like Kuveras are, at all events, candidly bastard. If this little figurine be accepted as a Baubo, it is one of the very few, indeed possibly the only, directly borrowed classical icon known to Indian archæology. Moreover, the type survives. The squatting posture, legs bent out, knees splayed, is found in the caryatid-friezes of dwarfs [Kichakas, Ganas] at Bharhut. The type recrudesces at Badami in the sixth century and in the Elura *Kailasa*, which was cut by architects from the south. In the female, the posture is associated with the *Devi* in certain of her manifestations as *Kali*, especially as the emaciated and terrible goddess of the burial grounds with the necklace of skulls and the blood-cup. Examples are available in Plate 23 of my 'Ancient India' and in the fine *cire perdue* bronze-casting in the India Museum, presented by Jonathan Duncan [I.M. 80-'73]. The milder example here published is from the Krammrish collection.

Dr. Murray notes that touch-holes in the pudenda, worn by the fingers, are common in the Sheila-na-gig figures. I know of no instance of a female sculpture demonstrating this custom in India. However, the little male dwarfs, referred to above, frequently have finger-worn touch-holes in the anus. Many examples exist in the *Kailasa* above, one of which, the kneeling caryatid to the right of the shrine door, is here illustrated.

K. DE B. CODRINGTON.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PHOTOGRAPHS IN PLATE E.

Figs. 1 and 2. Moulded terracotta figurine, one side in the form of a toad, and the other showing a squatting female figure, L. 4½ ins. Mathura, United Provinces, India Museum, South Kensington [I.M. 17-1927].

Fig. 3. Squatting goddess. Trapstone. Kanarak, Orissa. Circa A.D. 1100. The property of Dr. Stella Krammrish.

Fig. 4. Subsidiary shrine on the roof of the Kailasa Temple (case 16), Elura, eighth century A.D.

## Africa : East.

Mair.

**Totemism among the Baganda.** By Dr. L. P. Mair.

**71** Totemism—that is to say a ritual connection between animal species and social groups—appears to play a much less important part in the cultures of Africa than in some societies of North America and Australia. At the same time the division into totemic clans is a feature commonly found in the social organization of the Bantu, and since little attention has been paid to it, a note on totemism as it occurs in a culture recently investigated may not be out of place.

The Baganda are divided into some thirty-six exogamous clans, the members of which are linked to one another and distinguished from other groups by respect for a common totem, by the use of a common drum beat on ceremonial occasions, by certain distinguishing personal names, and by special observances connected with pregnancy, childbirth and the testing of the child's legitimacy, as well as by certain mutual obligations. Of these bonds of kinship, it is only the relationship to the totem that concerns us here.

While the totem is not the object of ceremonial, and the rules of behaviour with regard to it appear to be losing their validity, it is interesting that the normal way of asking a man what is his clan is to say, *We'dira ki?*—'What is your totem?' It might be objected that if Baganda totemism goes no further than this, it constitutes no more than the use of animal names to distinguish human groups, a practice which, in itself, is hardly sufficient to constitute totemism. But even at the present day totemism means more to the Baganda than this. A remarkable feature of their system, which does not appear to have been reported elsewhere, is that each clan has two totems, the *muziro* and the *kabiro*. While the *muziro* is the one which gives its name to the clan and the *kabiro* can only be ascertained by specific inquiry, the latter is stated to be the more important in the sense that breaches of the rules of behaviour towards it have more serious consequences, and are not commonly mentioned, just because of its importance.

The totems are nearly all animals, though they include the mushroom and a fruit called *katinvuma*.

They include the cow, sheep and goat, as well as a large number which are hunted for food, and beasts of prey, such as the lion and leopard, which are killed but not eaten. Parts of a dead lion are used for certain medicines, and these are forbidden to the Lion Clan. While the totem animal is commonly spoken of as a 'brother,' there is no myth accounting for totemic divisions by their descent from animal ancestors. The original king of Buganda is said to have allotted the totems along with the clan lands, but the reason given by Roscoe—that the distribution was designed to make each clan responsible for the preservation of a particular species—is not, I think, part of native doctrine. The major prohibition, as to which all informants agree, is against eating the totem. This is said to produce a rash which sometimes appears on the child of the guilty person. A woman once brought an infant to me with some skin disease and said, 'Perhaps its father ate his *muziro*.' This disease is believed to be curable, but the results of eating the *kabiro* are said to be much more serious, and according to some accounts, death is inevitable. The only time that I heard the word used in ordinary conversation was when a boy, who had acquired a number of cuts and scratches in a fall from a bicycle, was asked: 'Have you been eating your *kabiro*?'

Accounts differed as regards the killing of the totem animal. Some said that any man might do this, provided he did not eat the flesh, but the more general view was that this latitude was only allowed in the case of a beast of prey against whom the whole village was turned out. In these circumstances, authority had to be obeyed and the killing of the totem was excused because it was done under compulsion—*lwanaku si lwakwagala*, 'in sorrow, not of his own free will.' Some informants suggested that a member of the clan concerned should try to avoid being in at the death and might even contrive to let the animal escape as though by accident. It is not believed that the animal would show a similar clemency to a member of its clan during a hunt, but it was stated that a man who met his totem animal by chance would not be attacked if he said, 'I am your brother.'

Modern conditions have introduced two innovations which bear on the relations between an individual and his totem species—the steel trap and the employment of natives on European hunting expeditions. As regards the first, it is agreed that no man should set a trap for his totem animal. The attitude towards the second was rather interesting. Once a man has been engaged to hunt for the European, the latter seems to be made responsible for any offences he may commit against his totem—though here, too, he may make the best of both worlds by intentional stupidity on occasion. It is the opportunity of earning money that, in native eyes, justifies this disregard of ritual obligation—so much so, that it was suggested that a rich man ought not to engage in an employment which may involve him in injuring his totem animal.

In the native mind the association of the totem with the rules of exogamy seems to be very close. Some schoolchildren once asked me how Europeans, if they had no totems, avoided marrying within the prohibited degrees. Here it is, of course, possible that the word 'totem' was used with reference to the whole clan system: as I have mentioned, a person's clan can be known from other distinguishing marks, such as the name. But, on another occasion a man advanced, as a sufficient reason for the prohibition of eating the totem, the apparently inconsequent statement, 'You would not marry your brother.'

This short note makes no claim to be an exhaustive analysis of an institution which it is difficult to investigate satisfactorily to-day, when the traditional beliefs are ceasing to be handed on, but simply to present such data as I was able to obtain in the hope that they may be of some value for the comparative study of the problem.

L. P. MAIR.

### Gambia : Genealogy.

Macklin.

**Queens and Kings of Niumi.** By R. W. Macklin, Kerewan, North Bank Province, The Gambia.

The Kingdom of Nium-Bato comprised roughly the area on the North Bank of the River Gambia, between the sea coast on the west and the Suara Kunda Creek on the east, and from the river on the south to the neighbourhood of Socone on the north. The ruling families were connected with the Jammis, who ruled over Baddibu, farther to the east. The actual connection between them has not yet been traced.

Originally, the ruling power was vested in the hands of Queens, but a time came when the men rebelled and took the power into their own hands. As the Queens had selected husbands from amongst

the Mane and Sonko families, as well as from their own house of Jammi, men of all three families claimed the right to rule. Eventually, seven houses made good their claim to the kingship. They were:—

The Jammis of Bakkendik (the original Royal House of the Queens);

The Sonkos of Essau Manserring Su\*;

The Sonkos of Berrending;

The Manes of Kanuma;

The Jammis of Sittanunku;

The Sonkos of Essau Jelenkunda;

The Manes of Bunyadu.

The names of the Queens and Kings have been obtained from lists, handed down from father to son and retained in the keeping of the original Royal House. The lists only record the names in chronological order for each individual house, but by knowing the order, a fixed one, in which each family shared in the power, it is a simple matter by working backwards to arrive at what must have been the actual chronological sequence.

The dates quoted are those during which the Kings stated are known to have been in power, but do not necessarily represent the beginning or end of their reign. The towns named are all situated in what are now known as the Districts of Upper and Lower Niumi, in the North Bank Province. Their descendants still exist, but, for the time being at least, the Chiefs of these two districts are not representatives of the former Kings, although one of them can claim descent from one of the earlier Kings.

#### KINGS AND QUEENS OF NIUMI.

<i>Queens.</i>		<i>Kings.</i>	
Mama Handami Jammi	- - Bakkendik.	Jellimuta Mane	- - Bunyadu.
Wami Jammi.		Kumba Mbinki Sonko	- - Essau Manserring Su.
Furo Jammi.		Marang Kolli Sonko	- - Berrending.
Karunku Jammi.		Sira Musa Ndebban Jammi	- - Bakkendik.
Kajenki Jammi.		Ndebbali Kotto Mane	- - Kanuma.
Kabol Kaboyati Jammi.		Kunda Jemmu Jammi	- - Sittanunku.
Yunterangjang Jammi.		Kasanbai Sonko	- - Essau Jelenkunda.
Kalimakoi Jammi.		Kassi Yamang Mane	- - Bunyadu.
Yaiyando Jammi.		Kumba Kambi Mbaiki Sonko	- - Essau Manserring Su.
Bakijo Joandang Jammi.		Jennu Wuleng Sonko	- - Berrending.
		Siranka Wali Jammi	- - Bakkendik.
		Jali Kasa Mane	- - Kanuma.
		Sambare Mai Jammi	- - Sittanunku.
		Alimarang Sonko	- - Essau Jelenkunda.
		Mansajumu Fati Mane	- - Bunyadu.
		Birram Banka Sonko	- - Essau Manserring Su.
		Dusu Kolli Sonko	- - Berrending.
		Bessang Wali Jammi	- - Bakkendik.
		Tamba Baja Mane	- - Kanuma.
		Hali Sona Jambang Jammi	- - Sittanunku.
		Nandanko Suntu Sonko	- - Essau Jelenkunda.
		Jali Kambi Mane	- - Bunyadu.
		Mbaiki Sabu Jammi Sonko	- - Essau Manserring Su.
		Tamba Jabunai Sonko	- - Berrending.
		Birram Jammi	- - Bakkendik.
		Maranta Fatuma Jaju Mane	- - Kanuma.
		Jilali Kasuwuji Jammi	- - Sittanunku.
		Birram Teneng Tamba Sonko	- - Essau Jelenkunda.
		Kollimanka Jambong Jite Mane	- - Bunyadu.
		Burungai Jirayandi Sonko	- - Essau Manserring Su.
		(1826, 1832.)	
		Demba Adama Sonko	- - Berrending.
		(1833, 1853, 1856.)	
		Buntung Sani Sonko Jammi	- - Bakkendik.
		Mamadi Sira Jammi Mane	- - Kanuma.
		Wali Jammi	- - Sittanunku.
		Maranta Sonko	- - Essau Jelenkunda.

\* Manserring Su = Royal House.

**Hatchell.**

73

The writer first became interested in this question in 1920, and during the succeeding ten years had opportunity to make enquiries in various parts of the Territory, with the object of discovering

The Angoni were known to Livingstone and his contemporaries as the Mazitu and Wa-tuta, and they have frequently been described as Zulus. This description, however, appears to be incorrect since they were not, it is thought, Zulu, but Abe-nguni who had been resident in Natal as far back as 1620. They continued there until towards the end of the reign of the Zulu King, Chaka, with whom they became embroiled, with the result that they migrated northward under the leadership of Zwangandaba and crossed the Zambesi in November 1835. Continuing their journey northward and to the east of Lake Nyasa, they finally reached what is now known as Tanganyika Territory, somewhere between Lakes Nyasa and Tanganyika.

They were exceedingly able warriors and had, it is believed, adopted the Zulu methods of attack. Throughout their journey north they raided and subdued the people along their route; amongst these were the Swazi,

Zwangandaba returned to his base, and having rested and reorganized, again set out northward, but this time his object was the country on the eastern side of Lake Tanganyika : through Ufipa and beyond. The chief of Ufipa, Nsokolo, hearing of the threatened invasion, succeeded in coming to terms with the enemy, thus saving his people from the terrors of an Angoni raid.

Shortly after reaching Ufipa, Zwangandaba died and was buried at Chapota, where his grave, marked by a grove of trees, can still be seen. On his death, Ntabeni, who had quarrelled with the



senior wife and mother of Mpezeni, used his influence to bring about the proclamation of Mombera as successor. Considerable friction and internal strife resulted in a general break-up of the force. Mombera and Mpezeni returned south into Nyasaland, but two sections of Zwangandaba's following remained in Tanganyika Territory, and it is with the subsequent wanderings of these that we are now concerned.

No further information regarding Ntabeni seems to be obtainable and his fate is obscure, but much is heard of the activities of his sons Mtambalika and Mtambarara, and Mbonambi, the wife of the former, who were the leaders of one of the two sections. They are first heard of at Mpimbue, at the north end of the Rukwa valley; only some fifty miles north of Chapota. They raided and subdued the Wa-pimbue and appear to have settled in that country for some time, for it is known that from there they raided into Ukonongo and as far as Ukabende, near Cape Kungwe on Lake Tanganyika. The inhabitants of Ukabende were the Baholoholo, who had but recently crossed the Lake, having been driven to do so by pressure from the south, which had its origin in Zwangandaba's abortive expedition to the western shores of Lake Tanganyika.

The Baholoholo were brave and capable warriors, and under their chief, Swima, actually took the war into the enemy's country and attacked the Angoni at Mpimbue. They were beaten off and Swima lost his life, but they seem to have put up a sufficiently stout resistance to persuade the Angoni that there was nothing to be gained by attacking them again, for, when Mtambalika resumed his journey, he avoided Ukabende and, passing to the east of it, struck the Malagarasi valley somewhere about Uvinza. He then launched a series of raids westward towards Kigoma and attacked the Arab town of Ujiji. Here he suffered a reverse and so turned north-east through Uhaa and reached the Runzewe country, north-west of Tabora, where he settled down and established a base from which he raided as far north as the southern end of Smith Sound on Lake Victoria.

At this time, about 1870, the notorious Mirambo was busily occupied with raids into Unanyembe (Tabora) and against the Arabs of that place. He and Mtambalika joined forces and the Arabs, who had organized an expedition against them, were defeated at Issasa Magazi. It was in this expedition that Stanley took part. Mirambo and his ally were defeated eventually and Mtambalika retired to Runzewe.

He had two wives: Mbonambi and Nwasi. The former bore him one son, who died in childhood, but Nwasi bore four sons: Mpangarara, Mvumba, Mini and Muvi. The first of these succeeded his father and was in turn succeeded by his son Mtambalika, the present chief.

Mtambalika died at Mgomba and was buried there, while Mbonambi died at Kungene, where her grave is still treated with respect and reverence. In spite of her ill-success in the production of children, she seems to have been as famous as her husband, and her name is remembered to this day from the Rukwa to Runzewe.

The descendants of Mtambalika's followers are now considerably inter-bred with the people of Runzewe, and it is stated that they are beginning to lose their Angoni identity.

The wanderings of the second section of Zwangandaba's following which remained in Tanganyika Territory are of no less interest. The leaders were Mboanani and Zuru of the Gamma clan. It is possible, however, that the latter was of the Njere clan, for some informants have stated that his 'grandfather' was Njere or Njeru.

On the break up of Zwangandaba's force consequent on the election of Mombera, Zuru and Mboanani led their followers south-eastward through Usafwa and into Ukinga and Upangwa in the Livingstone Mountains, raiding as they went. They finally reached the plains, in the neighbourhood of the place where the town of Songea now stands, and proceeded to establish themselves. They were not, however, the first Angoni to reach the Songea area, for they found there another party of Angoni under the leadership of Mputa, sometimes called the Smiter. Mputa was a Swazi of the Mseko clan who had been a member of Zwangandaba's original force and who had apparently broken away from it, after it had crossed the Zambesi. He came north up the east side of Lake Nyasa, and crossing the Ruvuma River, settled at the hill of Mbunga, about forty miles north-east of Songea, where he settled down and absorbed the unwarlike Wa-ndendahauli, whom he found there. From Mbunga he carried out many successful raids northward and into the Kilwa hinterland. It is stated that he even raided as far north as the Digo country, a few miles south of Mombasa.

Zuru and Mboanani seem to have entered into some kind of agreement with Mputa and to have lived at peace with him until he treacherously murdered Mboanani and attacked and defeated Zuru and his followers. Shortly afterwards he proceeded on an expedition against the Yao, south of the Ruvuma, and suffered a reverse. In the subsequent rout he was captured by a party of Mboanani's followers who hanged him out of hand on the roadside. It is related that his body was taken to his 'great place' at Mbunga and there burnt, but another account states that his followers dammed the Ruhuhu River, wrapped the body in an ox-skin, burnt it in the bed of the river and allowed the waters to flow over the remains. There seems to be little doubt that Mputa's body was cremated, but whether at Mbunga or in the bed of the Ruhuhu needs further confirmation. At this late stage it seems doubtful if reliable information on the point can be obtained.

On the death of Mputa the Zuru party reorganized, and delivered a successful attack against Mbunga. Mputa's followers were heavily defeated and fled in all directions. The pure-blooded Swazi fled south across the Ruvuma, while the half-bred Swazi-Wa-ndendahauli fled north into Mahenge, where they founded the tribe now known as Wa-mbunga. The Wa-ndendahauli serfs fled east into Tunduru, where they still cherish their acquired Angoni status.

Mboanani was succeeded by his son Chipeta, and he and Zuru established a dual control over the country lying between the Pitu and Ruvuma rivers. They raided in Ukinga and Upangwa and on the shores of Lake Nyasa, where Zuru's third son, Muharule, is well remembered. At Kipingo, a few miles north of Manda on the lake shore, may be seen the remains of a pile village, which the Wakissi of those parts state was built by their fathers as a refuge from the Angoni, who were reputed to be averse from entering or crossing water if they could avoid doing so. Muharule also raided into Uwungu on the eastern shores of Lake Rukwa. He succeeded Zuru on his death, and was himself succeeded by his nephew, Chabruma, who was later deposed and replaced by Usangila, the son of Muharule.

On the death of Chipeta, a dispute regarding the inheritance arose between his sons Mpepo and Chabruma. In this Mpepo was defeated and retired with his followers to Mkasu, near Mahenge, where he founded an independent sub-division of the Angoni. Chabruma was an energetic and successful warrior and brigand, and with his brother Palango raided into the Kilwa area, whence he returned with many Wa-ngindo slaves and much loot. He has sometimes been referred to as the 'killer by night.'

In 1890, with the advent of the German administration, the Angoni of Songea were under the leadership of Chabruma and Muharule. The next event of importance in the history of these Songea Angoni seems to have been the Maji-maji rebellion of 1905-6. They 'drank the water' with disastrous results, for, although they were successful against a small expedition sent out against them from Songea, they were eventually scattered with heavy loss by a force sent down from Iringa. The severest punitive measures were then adopted by the Government, and it is affirmed that many more Angoni lost their lives as a result of these than in the rebellion itself. Their fighting spirit, however, was not extinguished, for they fought bravely both for the British and for the Germans in the Great War. An Angoni company raised by the Germans and known as the 'W' Company was regarded as being in the category of 'storm troops.'

After the rebellion a number of minor chiefs came into being in Songea. They were for the most part sons of the Zuru and Mboanani families, and although in the course of time they became semi-independent, the administration of the tribe remained largely in the hands of the alien native Akidas, appointed by the Government as its agents in the outlying districts. Among these minor chiefs or sultans, as they came to be called, was one who was not a member of the old ruling families. He was Songea, an Mkaranga Nduna of Muharule, and it was from him that the town of Songea took its name.

Since the war a policy of indirect rule has been inaugurated and the internal structure of the tribe has been, to some extent, reorganized, giving the direct descendants of Zuru and Mboanani that recognition to which they are entitled, while the exact status of the minor chiefs has been defined.

The Angoni continue to be wanderers, and large numbers of them leave the Songea and Kahama districts every year, making their way to the Tanga district, where they obtain employment on the sisal estates and where they are regarded as first-class labour. Many of them settle down and never return home, or only do so after a lapse of years. They retain, however, a marked pride of race and have no doubts whatever regarding the inferiority of other tribes in the Territory. G. W. HATCHELL.



Robinson.

**Throwing-Swords and Knives from the Sudan.** *By Arthur E. Robinson.*

**74** These weapons were in common use in the Sudan among the people I met on the Abyssinian border between the White and Blue Nile rivers near Kurmok, prior to 1913; and the Azande. From Dr. D. Olderogge's note (No. 128 in the July issue of MAN) it is evident that he has not seen my paper *The Arab Dynasty of Dar For* printed in the *Journal of the African Society* (Vol. XXVII, No. cviii, *et seq.*), or my *Abu el Kaylak*, published in the *American Anthropologist* (Vol. 31, No. 2, 1929).

The weapons illustrated by Dr. Olderogge (MAN 1934, 128) are throwing-swords: specimens were illustrated in Denham and Clapperton's *Travels*, London (1822-4). His fig. 1 is of a similar pattern to those manufactured from locally obtained iron at Gidami, in Abyssinia, and they were traded to natives in the Sudan. In 1913 I obtained three specimens in the district between Roseires and Kurmok. They are called 'Koleth' by the Hameg, and two were illustrated by me with a curious wooden axe-boomerang called 'Trombash' in my Dar For paper. The aborigines of Australia have similar wooden weapons, one of which, the 'Li-lil,' I have depicted with the ambatch billet-shaped shield of the Nuers.

The iron used at Gidami is very soft, and one of my swords was bent and damaged by servants cutting wood for fuel. These weapons were introduced into the Sudan, after the Moslem era, by pilgrims from Nigeria and they were used by the Fur Sheikhs who settled on the Abyssinian frontier during the eighteenth century (see my *Tekruri Sheikhs of Gallabat*) and formed part of the equipment of the infantry, who were generally slaves.

Iron is found in Kordofan and Dar For, and throwing-swords were made there, but the large Crusader type of sword-blade and the chain-mail were made in Germany and imported *via* Cairo during the eighteenth century.

The small cross pieces (Dr. Olderogge's, Fig. 1, MAN 1934, 128) to the left of the throwing-sword were not welded on to the iron swords I had. The sword fitted into a slot which was clamped by contraction after heating the cross-piece. The two pieces were then tightly bound with raw hide thongs. The natives I saw carried these weapons on their shoulders and the cross-piece prevented them slipping, and in one case allowed the man to use a bow.

The throwing-knife is a much smaller weapon than the throwing-sword and is made of much harder metal. Most of them are fitted with wooden or ivory handles and they are carried inside the shield,<sup>1</sup> or on the arm. There were numerous specimens of these weapons at one time in Khartoum but I never saw the curved Hadendoa knife (Fig. B) thrown, although I saw a serious fight between Hadendoa and blacks. It was a cut-and-thrust affair as far as the Hadendoa were concerned. I doubt if this knife is used as a projectile as the weapon is carried in a sheath and has an edge like a razor. The handle is generally made of ebony or some similar black hardwood and the pattern can be recognized in the illustrations by Mr. Kammerer (*Essai sur l'Histoire Antique d'Abyssinie*, Paris, 1926) of the rock sculptures near Lake Zouai.

These Zouai sword blades are not curved and have a blood channel.

<sup>1</sup> There are numerous illustrations of 'throwing-swords' carried on the shoulder, and 'throwing-knives' carried on the arm or inside the shield in 'Congo

Illustré' prior to 1914. They are of some importance in connection with certain rock drawings found in the Southern Sahara.

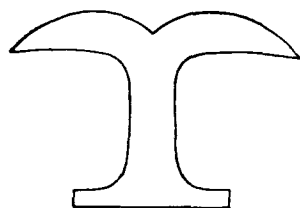


FIG. A. KASSALA KNIFE.  
HANDLE MADE IN HARD  
BLACK WOOD.

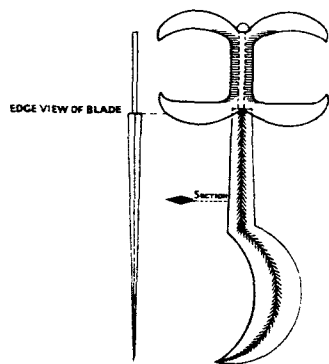


FIG. B. KASSALA KNIFE.  
TANGED HANDLE WORN IN  
SHEATH IN BELT.

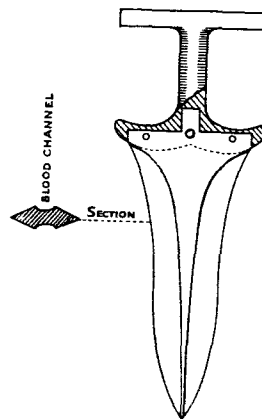


FIG. C. RIVETED HANDLED  
KNIFE OR DAGGER, LAKE  
ZOUAI TYPE. SMALL SIZE  
WORN IN SHEATH ON ARM.

They were apparently hafted in a similar manner to a few knives which I saw in Kassala in 1908. Fig. C shows one of these short swords hafted in the Kassala old fashion. The usual Kassala arm-knife is a small one and is fitted into the handle with a tang which is riveted at the end. It is always carried in a small sheath. Fig. D represents one of a common type. The blade is ridged as the larger knife (Fig. B), which has a long tang riveted at the handle butt. These large knives vary in size and I have seen my servant shave with a large one.

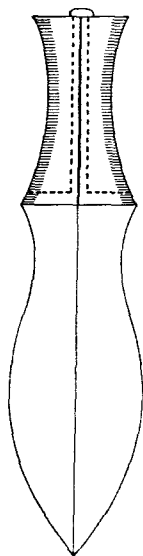


FIG. D. KASSALA  
ARM KNIFE.

The word *kourbash* may be onomatopœic but seems, as far as the Sudan is concerned, to be of Turkish origin. It is usually applied to the hippo-hide<sup>2</sup> whips which have been used for many centuries as incentives for slaves and beasts of burden. The curved camel-sticks used by the Arabs (Figs. E and F) are generally only called *asaiah* (stick) and I do not know if there is any affinity between this word and *assegai*. I never heard the word *kourbash* as applied to a stick. Attempts have been made to identify these curved sticks, the present non-return boomerang and the throwing-swords with the weapons depicted on the ancient Egyptian monuments.

The Mamelukes had a game with sticks which they threw at each other (not necessarily directly as a javelin) and the Arabs are very expert with their camel-sticks with which they can kill small game.<sup>3</sup>

Schweinfurth (*The Heart of Africa*, London, 1873, Vol. II, p. 107) also illustrated throwing-knives, and gave them distinctive local names. ARTHUR E. ROBINSON.

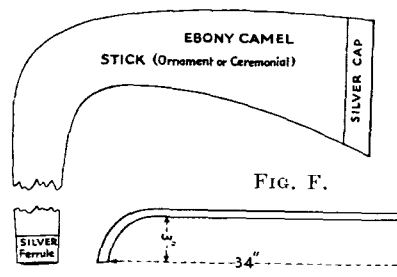


FIG. E.

FIG. F.

<sup>2</sup> When I was at Kassala the Halenga were almost extinct. These people took their name from their hippo-hide whips with which they drove their animals, the camel and goat, over the hills from Eritrea into Kassala (*Bilad Taku*) at some unknown period. They are not autochthonous but were of considerable importance in the seventeenth century of our era. They are said to have split the boulders and made tracks for their animals by smearing the rocks with fat and burning it.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Weigall, *Travels in the Upper Egyptian Deserts*, 1909, page 116, mentions that the earliest hieroglyph of an Egyptian soldier is represented by a figure with a stick similar to a hockey stick. It is probable that the curved 'camel sticks' and 'non-return boomerangs' used by the Beja and Arabs of the Red Sea Littoral are survivals of the weapon alluded to by Mr. Weigall, who figures an archaic rock drawing of a man holding a stick and lassoing an ostrich, which he discovered in the Wadi Fowakieh (Wadi Hammamat).

Dr. Monod, *L'Adrar Ahnet*, Paris, 1932, has illustrated a number of rock drawings found in the Sahara. No. 246 (his fig. 66) represents a percussion-type of drawing of a man with a rectangular weapon of the boomerang class. No. 190 (his fig. 65) depicts a man with a weapon across his hips. Both drawings were found at the ancient site of Edikel. The weapons which are shown (Monod, *loc. cit.*, p. 129) as hanging from the shield-arm are much longer than the throwing-knives of the Azandé. They are believed to be Tuareg and are dated to the Libyco-Berber period. No. 116 represents a man carrying a sword across the hips in a similar manner to the Bejas of to-day. The figure of the archer with a throwing-stick (? sword) is No. 13.

The Meroitic weapons illustrated by Wallis Budge (*Egyptian Sudan*, I, p. 408, and II, p. 132) are distinctive in pattern. They seem to be a combined sword and mace and could be used for smiting or as a projectile. I saw a Chinese bronze weapon of unknown date, of a similar pattern but with a curved blade, in a dealer's shop in St. Albans recently. The shaft was considerably ornamented and the weapon was in one piece, as probably were also the Meroitic ones.

It is possible that the Frankish throwing-axe, a specimen of which was found at Croydon, was a development of the 'trombash' or a metal weapon similar to the Meroitic or Chinese types.

In conclusion, it must not be overlooked when considering the 'throwing-sword' in connection with rock-pictures that certain Nilotic tribes use a thick, sharpened, wooden stake which is carried by a loop of leather. Such a weapon with shields and bone-pointed spears formed part of their equipment until the sixteenth century. The dates when the Hofra-en-Nahas copper mines (Dar For) and the local manufacture of iron in Kordofan were begun seem unknown. In 1852 Barth (*Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa, 1849-1855*, London, 1857, p. 347) met the copper caravan travelling from Hofra-en-Nahas to Kano, near Bakada (Bagermi). In 1854 Shenouda, a Copt of Aswan, worked the mines and the metal was taken to Egypt. It was the reputed wealth of these mines and their wealth which caused the conquest and occupation of Dar For by the Egyptians. From information given to me by prospectors these mines were worked for some centuries and the spears and hoe illustrated in MAN 1933, 220, are relics of an iron-using people other than the Bantus.

## ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE : PROCEEDINGS.

Africa, North.

Caton-Thompson.

A Revision of Recent Research upon some Stone-Age Problems in North Africa. *Summary of the Rivers Lecture by G. Caton-Thompson and illustrated by lantern slides, 9th April, 1935.*

**75** The prehistory of Kharga Oasis as established by three seasons' field work in the northern area. to be continued southwards, is used as a base from which to explore other current prehistoric problems in North Africa.

The position of the oasis in the eastern, most arid, part of the African desert belt, endows it with special value for determining increases of Pleistocene moisture, free from fluvial influences. Early Quaternary deposits of extreme aridity are noted. Nor does the distribution of flint tools suggest that, even in the Middle Palæolithic maximum of moisture, man's movements were unfettered by abundant rainwater. On the depression floor, implements clung, even in that epoch, to the two areas of artesian mound-springs; elsewhere they are absent or scarce. Likewise on the scarp, tools crowd only in the localized regions of travertine formation, deposited largely by springs and seepage from the junction of an impermeable shale bed underlying the plateau limestone, in part by surface drainage. Nature's subterranean waterworks thus play a large part in prehistoric supply. Hence groups of surface implements found at points in the Libyan Desert and Sahara, days from water, demand investigation. Motoring and other parties who collect such tools without plotting their position, and rendering an account of the local hydrography (mound-springs may be denuded to desert level, and recognized by digging only) destroy evidence of untold potential value. Mound-springs seem certainly to occur in French North Africa.

The Upper Acheulean exhibits non-local peculiarities which link with Palestine (Umm el Qatafa and level F. at Tabūn), and less strongly with assemblages from Tebessa. Nothing comparable is yet recorded from the Nile Valley, possibly owing to insufficient work.

An Acheuleo-Levallois phase is succeeded by two or three different facies of Levalloisean, whose relative position *inter se* is undetermined. Physiographical evidence for the age of Kharga Aterian culture assigns it to oncoming aridity, used as a convenient datum for Upper Palæolithic distinction. Its typology suggests an archaic aspect, where tanged points are scarce, and the tanged end-scrapers and diminution in size which mark many Aterian groups in French N. Africa are absent.

Vaufrey's evidence for the relegation of Capsian culture to final Palæolithic or Mesolithic times, will, if fully accepted, force a revision of ideas concerning Aurignacian origins in Western Europe and Kenya, and re-orient conceptions of authorship and date of desert pictographs.

The juxtaposition of Aterian and Ibéromaurusian at north-westerly sites seems to indicate the survival of a debased Aterian into very 'late' times. Evidence for this is lacking in Kharga, but is inherently probable.

The creation of Aterian types by means of 'culture-contact' with a blade and burin group, often adduced also to explain Stillbay, Bambata and Sebilian eccentricities, will hardly bear examination in view of the apparent absence of a contemporary Capsian culture. Independently of this consideration, inherited tradition from the Upper Acheulean may, in Kharga, be more reasonably invoked. The Kharga Aterian is succeeded, unconformably, by a blade culture of Capsian affinities with microliths, querns, but no pottery. In spite of the presence of small uni- and bifacial tanged arrow-heads and leaf-shaped points, usually regarded as Neolithic farther west, it seems likely the period is Mesolithic, for it develops at other sites into a true Neolithic by the addition of axes, large concave-base arrow-heads of the Fayum A group, a macrolithic tool-bag and scraps of pottery—all absent in the presumed Capso-mesolithic earlier group. It seems probable that later Aterian groups, yet to be discovered, will bridge the gap without further intermediary stages.

Notes on Red Feather Money from Santa Cruz, New Hebrides. *Summary of a communication presented by H. G. Beasley, 30th April, 1935.*

**76** The first notice of this form of currency was by Codrington in 1891, since when some fourteen other writers have briefly recorded a few inaccurate notes. One writer states that they are war belts, and all copy Codrington in stating that the red feathers, which are an essential

feature, are derived from a paroquet. The writer has had the assistance of two local residents, who have kindly made enquiries over the last two years. Some twenty specimens are known to be preserved in museums, many of which are but poor examples of the original coils. It has been definitely ascertained that in the past no less than eleven distinct grades of this currency were recognized, the difference varying with the width of the coils, and the introduction of recognized quantities of feathers other than red, the lowest grade (of which none exist to-day) being composed entirely of black feathers.

Whilst the native versions as to the conception of this currency definitely state that it is comparatively modern, it should be borne in mind that in view of the conservatism of the native mind, such a highly specialized example of technical effort must represent many generations of time. Whilst the method of manufacture, coupled with the recognized eleven grades of values, and the fact that only the bush people have this knowledge, all point to a state of affairs which must be of considerable antiquity. This is further strengthened by the multiplication of the various interests involved. First are the people who only capture the birds and extract the feathers. Secondly there are the people who stick on the feathers to the plates, and lastly, those (invariably bush people) who work up the plates into the coils. The origin is therefore decidedly uncertain. The natives have, however, retained the name of the originator, and are emphatic that red feather money superseded shell currency. Shell money is still made and is produced as single strings packed in banana leaf bundles, whilst another form consists of broad belts made up of numerous strands of shell beads, examples of which are well known from the Carolines.

There are no records obtainable to-day as to the origin of this remarkable currency, but examination of these coils does, however, reveal certain features, and the very obvious results indicate that they were originally body belts, a common form of personal ornament all over Melanesia, and proof is established by a series of comparative examples. One may surmise even further, though without definite proof, that formerly the belt was a bark one on which the feathers were fixed direct, and as such belts become recognized commercial units, the desire to create similar belts of higher values became a form of economic necessity: so the loose band of feather work was evolved, which, however, still retained the original finish to the ends, and the cords for tying, and the original bark belt simply became the frame on which the feather belt was for convenience wound. Specimens of the currency, both in process of manufacture and the completed coil, with slides, were shown.

#### Handbook of African Tribes.

A meeting of the African group was held on the 9th April to consider the possibility of effecting co-operation between the Royal Anthropological Institute and the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures in regard to the *Handbook of African Tribes* contemplated by the latter. It was generally agreed that the *Handbook* is a very desirable undertaking and one which the Royal Anthropological Institute should actively support. It was resolved that the Council be recommended (1) to issue a circular, conjointly with other interested Societies and Institutes, to its members advising them of the nature of the projected *Handbook* and inviting the assistance of all such as are in a position to render assistance; (2) to use the group as a nucleus of all activities concerned with the *Handbook*: that members be invited to enlist their names with the chairman of the group to form a panel of collaborators who may

be drawn upon when the schemes for the *Handbook* have made further progress.

As at present conceived, the *Handbook* will consist of three separate volumes under separate editors: (1) South Africa, including South West Africa, Portuguese East Africa, the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland; (2) East Africa, including North Africa, Tanganyika, Kenya, Uganda, Sudan, Abyssinia, the countries of the Eastern Horn, and North Africa; (3) West Africa.

It is earnestly requested that all Fellows, whether in Africa or not, who are able to help in this work, which it is estimated will occupy some three years, should communicate with the chairman of the African Group (c/o The Royal Anthropological Institute), who will put them in touch with the appropriate editors and suggest the lines along which their assistance will be most welcome. The organization of such a panel of volunteers appears to be the most effective way in which the Institute may co-operate in this project.

#### REVIEWS.

##### ARCHÆOLOGY.

**Bronzezeitliche und früheisenzeitliche Chronologie: I Italien; II Hallstattzeit; III Kupfer-und frühe Bronzezeit; IV Griechenland.** By Nils Åberg. (Monographien No. 18 Kungl. Vitterhets

*Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, Stockholm*), 1930-1933.

Dr. Åberg's new chronology of prehistoric Europe is not worthy, firstly, as indicating the final overthrow of the inflated dates introduced by his

countryman, Montelius, and exaggerated still further by Hubert Schmidt and Bosch Gimpera. His dates for Aunjetitz and Hallstatt approximate to those of Sophus Müller and long advocated in this country, much more nearly than to the systems generally current in Germany.

Then the method adopted for the deflation of swollen dates brings a touch of reality back to prehistory. Åberg insists on the existence of backward regions and conservative communities, where old-fashioned tools, weapons and ornaments persisted. The older typological schemes have been inflated by raising the archaic products of backwoodsmen into types that should characterize a distinct period of European prehistory as a whole. It has been a strong point in British, as in Danish, prehistorians that they have fully realized the cultural lag between North and South and have exposed the fallacies induced by ignoring it. We must not complain if Åberg turns these principles against us in matters of Aegean chronology. He suggests that many of the 'Early Cycladic' graves are not early, but just archaic; the excavations at Evtresis have, in fact, produced sherds of 'Early Cycladic' style from Middle Helladic layers. The gap in Cycladic prehistory, suggesting a total evacuation of many islands, may prove to be fictitious; the rather too ingenious explanations for such evacuation, which Frankfort and I have advanced, may prove unnecessary. And so, too, with Crete, where there is an apparent gap in the record from the east of the island in Middle Minoan times. The 'Palace Style,' which represented the L.M.II period in the original Minoan chronology, is now recognized as local product, peculiar to Knossos; in the rest of Crete a sort of L.M.Ib style flourished during the second period. Åberg plausibly applies the same idea to the Middle Minoan period; the fine M.M.II Kamares ware would be a local palace style that did not reach East Crete or the Mesará. Thus, the rather incredible gap in those regions can be filled up with M.M.I. remains. But, of course, the whole Minoan chronology is thereby reduced by two centuries.

Thirdly, Åberg is unquestionably right in rejecting similarities and copies as proofs of synchronism; people go on slavishly copying a foreign type for years after it has gone out of fashion at home. But that means that similarities between amulets and toilet articles from the Mesará tholoi and those from protodynastic tombs in Egypt do not suffice to prove parallelism in time. Again Åberg's books advance the scientific study of prehistory by reiterating the dependence of North European chronology on that of the Mediterranean lands. He approaches the problem of Villanova (and so of Hallstatt) not from the Po valley, but from Central Italy, where Etruscan and Greek settlement earlier establishes contact with the historical world farther east.

Finally, the four volumes are invaluable as storehouses of relevant material: the author has travelled widely, he draws beautifully, he fully appreciates the value of closed finds. And so he

describes and illustrates a number of important grave-groups, particularly from Central Italy, Hungary and the Cyclades, that are either not published or only in obscure and rare periodicals. His recognition of the high antiquity of the Perjámos culture in the Middle Danube basin, as compared with the Aunjetitz of Bohemia, is a welcome confirmation of the views advanced in my *Danube in Prehistory*.

Yet these merits must not blind us to real deficiencies in the author's knowledge and to serious errors in his methods. His account of Greece is based on a comparatively brief period of study so that he naturally misses even facts so much in his own special line as a stone battle-axe from Evtresis. He fails to appreciate the significance of recent excavations in Mesopotamia and the influence of Sumer on Trojan and Central European metalwork. It is indeed Sumer, not Egypt and Crete, that must provide the terminus post quem in this direction.

Then, it is painfully evident that Åberg has never participated in the excavation of a stratified site; in Greece, Crete, and Melos he fails lamentably to grasp the significance of stratigraphical differences. He even displays an irritating reluctance to accept the statements of reputable excavators when their observations conflict with his own typological inferences.

Nor is he always true to his own methods. His dating of Troy should be based upon a prior analysis of the Cretan and Helladic evidence. But we feel in volume IV that his onslaught on the Minoan chronology is inspired by a desire to justify his date for Hissarlik II; part III actually ends with a chronological table in which the standard Minoan system is reproduced from Evans. Again, for Åberg such simple and admittedly long-lived types as flat chisels and lock rings "mark the outlines of an at least partially synchronous constellation, consisting of the graves of Levkas and Sesklo, the Shaft Graves of Mycenae, Troy II and Aunjetitz." But the Levkas graves, here treated as a unit, contain in some cases typical Early Helladic vases and in others Middle Helladic. And even the flat chisels are significantly dissimilar if closely examined.

Finally, the American excavations at Troy and at Alişar in Cappadocia, and Bittel's general study of Anatolian prehistory have come, since Åberg's last volume appeared, to vindicate a chronology like my own for Troy II against Åberg's effort to bring down the fall of that city to the Shaft Grave epoch. The reduction of Aunjetitz from 1800 to 1600 may be justified, an appreciable deflation of Minoan chronology must be envisaged as probably necessary, but the dates Åberg proposes for E.M.I., Troy II, Hallstatt and La Tène are all too low. And the conclusions in favour of the Nordic origin of Achaeans and Hittites that he seeks to draw from excessive reductions of Aegean chronology are equally unconvincing and, from a scientific standpoint, tainted.

V. G. CHILDE.

**Les Peintures rupestres Schématiques de la Péninsule Ibérique. II Bassin du Guadiana. III Sierra Morena. IV Sud Est et Est de l'Espagne.** By **79**  
L'Abbé Henri Breuil. Published under the  
auspices of the Fondation Singer-Polignac, Paris, 1933-35.

Very shortly after the first volume of this important series appeared and had been reviewed in MAN, 1933, 122, the second volume was issued. It deals with the conventionalized rock-shelter paintings found in sites in the basin of the Guadiana in the neighbourhood of Almáden and Badajoz. As in the case of the first volume, Professor Breuil is chiefly concerned with a detailed description of what actually exists, rather than with theories about this Spanish schematic art. There is a wealth of detail given and the numerous illustrations include pictures of a number of the more important sites, as well as of the paintings they contain. Many of the latter are in colour. Professor Breuil, however, does make one comparison especially interesting to English readers when he draws attention to the similarity between a certain rather special conventionalization present in the Spanish art group and a figure on an Early Bronze Age pot from a kist at Macroom, Ireland. The greater part of the contents of this volume has never before been published, and Professor Breuil is to be congratulated on the excellent work he has done.

The third volume of this series deals with Early Metal Age Rock-Shelter Art of the Sierra Morena. As in the previous volumes Professor Breuil has simply stated the facts without wasting time and space on doubtful theories. The region is divided into districts, to each of which a chapter is devoted. Thus, there are accounts given of the paintings found in the region of Aldequemada, between the famous Pass of Despeñaperros and the Rio Frio, between the Rio Frio and the Solana del Pino, the country to the north of the Sierra Madrona, the environs of Fuencaliente and the region of El Horcajo. The Early Metal Age Rock-Shelter Art of the Spanish peninsula is concentrated more or less in the south, and is of very great interest. Hitherto, however, its study has been somewhat neglected. Not so long ago a well-known pre-historian wrote a volume on this cultural period in Spain and did not even mention this art. Yet Professor Breuil studied the rock-shelters over twenty years ago, and some of them had been examined by Spanish investigators at a still earlier date. Excerpts from Breuil's results appeared, of course, from time to time in various journals. But now full accounts are at last available.

The paintings found in the Sierra Morena are, as a rule, much more conventionalized than those of similar date nearer the coastline—for example, in the region of the Laguna de la Janda—yet they belong to the same general group. One of the most interesting of the sites, Los Canforos de Peñarubia, yields us paintings of human beings walking along hand in hand, also leading animals by a halter. The famous frieze of the Piedra Escriita is naturally given, though, of course, this was already fairly well known. Professor Breuil is to be congratulated on a fine piece of work, which will prove to be a mine of information for all students of the subject, since, even with the help of maps and the directions of well-meaning peasants, it is not everyone who can find his way to any particular rock shelter in South Spain, as the reviewer well knows to his cost!

The fourth and last volume deals with a number of sites, mostly in the south-east of the Spanish Peninsula, and equally with its predecessors it shares the distinction of being a monograph. The rock-shelter sites in this region, where paintings of the Early Metal Age occur, are often scattered, and frequently they contain examples of the earlier, in part at any rate late Palaeolithic,

Spanish Art Group II paintings. As the present volume is not concerned with this earlier series of paintings, the description of the sites is necessarily somewhat scrappy and it is difficult to see how this could have been avoided. It is, nevertheless, unfortunate, particularly in such a case as that of Minateda, a large and important rock-shelter, where no less than thirteen layers of paintings occur. Here the more conventionalized series, with which the author is concerned, seem to evolve to some extent from the earlier, naturalistic, examples; but the reader, lacking an adequate account of the older paintings, has to refer continually to their publication in the journal *L'Anthropologie*. A certain amount of comparative work is attempted, especially in regard to decorations on pottery, dolmens, schist idols, etc. Might it not have been better to keep such work wholly for a fifth and final comparative volume? But this is a not very important matter. Like the other volumes, here is an indispensable work which all pre-historians must take into account; if it is a little less compact than its forerunners, that is not the author's fault. Professor Breuil is to be congratulated on having so admirably completed the enormous task of bringing to the light of day this corpus of monographs on the Spanish Metal Age Rock-Shelter Art. The book is fully illustrated; and here the reviewer permits himself a little pardonable pride, when noting that in the case of some of the photographs reproduced, which he took more than 20 years ago, no serious deterioration seems to have occurred to the plates. The production is exceedingly good and both the text and the reproductions, whether photographic or in colour, are a pleasure to peruse.

M. C. BURKITT.

**The Corridors of Time. VIII : The Horse and the Sword.** By H. J. E. Peake and H. J. Fleure. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1933. 14 x 20.5 cm. **80**  
viii + 152 pp. Price 5s.

The eighth volume of 'The Corridors of Time' carries forward the story of human cultures from 1400 B.C. to the turn of the first millennium. The period is one of change in many ways. In the Aegean, Cretan power had gone with the fall of Knossos, and after that event, in the absence of systematic archaeological knowledge, the authors make skilful use of the testimony of tradition as enshrined in the stories of the Heroic Age. The date 1400 is suggested for the discovery of iron-working, and the expansion of the Hittites is correlated with the adoption of iron weapons. While this is a reasonable correlation, the recent find by Dr. Frankfort of the remains of an iron knife, free from nickel, at Tell Asmar (c. 2700 B.C.) is a disturbing fact.

In the twelfth century there is evidence of an important crisis in many regions of the Old World: special attention is given to the most famous incident of that time, the Siege of Troy. The authors accept the dating 1194, and in their explanation of the struggle they follow Leaf rather than Bury, but hold that it was the search for gold that led the Achæans to force the Hellespont. The early chapters also deal with Egypt, the Hittites, Assyria and Babylonia: the material is clearly and fairly set out, even if the swift changes of topic make reading difficult here and there. Expanding folk of Lausitz culture are credited with the destruction of the sixth city of Hissarlik, and also with the disturbances in Macedonia that drove the Dorians southwards through Thessaly. Their possession of the iron sword gave the latter an easy victory over the Achæans.

But it is to the bronze sword that this volume owes its title. The transition from the Middle to the Late Bronze Age is boldly portrayed in what we believe to

be its true light: "a period of crisis of far greater importance than the transition from the use of bronze to that of iron." Accompanying the spread of the sword, and of socketed axes and fibulae, a general stirring of life is evident in Central Europe, as Childe has clearly shown. The position of the middle Danube basin is thus cleverly summarized: "the west, centre and south of Hungary at this time, as befitted the region of non-Mediterranean Europe with the longest tradition of civilization, had become a focus of fashions and a melting-pot of cultures."

The Late Bronze Age is sketched in broad but significant strokes in Italy, Central Europe, the Baltic and the West. While recognizing the complexity of inter-regional exchanges (and indeed arguing from that to a general quickening of consciousness), the authors contrive to give a balanced, if summary, account of cultures that often reached technical brilliance. A decline came with climatic deterioration fairly early in the last millennium. Finally, the monsoon lands of Asia are given a short but suggestive chapter.

'The Horse and the Sword' is written, illustrated and printed with the skill and taste we have become accustomed to: it ends on a note of expectancy that leaves us wondering and waiting for the last volume of the chronological series. E. E. E.

## SEX AND MARRIAGE.

**Three Essays on Sex and Marriage.** By Edward Westermarck. London: Macmillan & Co. 8½ x 6. 353 pp. Price 12s. 6d.

The first two of these essays are devoted to an attack on those who have expressed disagreement with the author's view that all ideas of incest and all rules of exogamy arise from an aversion to sexual intercourse between those who have lived closely together from childhood.

In the first essay he attacks the psycho-analysts, and his criticisms of the Oedipus complex, etc., are trenchant, though for the most part familiar. In the second essay the objects of his attack are Mr. Briffault, Mrs. Seligman, and myself. It is to be noted that he produces no new evidence in support of his theory, nor, since he never states it in any but the vaguest way, does he appear anxious that it should be tested. He does not say whether he supposes this aversion to be inborn or acquired, nor at what age he believes it to appear, though there is a great deal of evidence for sex play among small children. He does not define childhood, which may cease at puberty, or, as among ourselves, continue till four or five years later. Do those who live in the same village live closely together, or only those who live in the same house? But perhaps it is unnecessary to go on, since we read (on p. 43) that "There are thus various reasons for marriages between cousins and between uncles and nieces, quite apart from any sexual attraction. But it is obvious that sexual preference may also be the cause of marriages between such persons on account of the fact that they know each other better than other marriageable persons." Being near relatives, they have known each other from childhood, and Dr. Westermarck's theory falls, slain by his own hand.

In 'The Mothers,' Mr. Briffault challenged Dr. Westermarck's views on the biological foundation of pre-nuptial chastity, polygyny and group-marriage, and alleged that his conclusions were against the weight of the evidence. In the third essay the author develops a vigorous counter-attack. The contest becomes tedious at times and one is left wondering whether the chastity or unchastity of the women of Bongabonga can be safely assessed by counting the noses of

travellers and missionaries, and whether a world census of virginity, however accurate, would really throw much light on the origin of moral ideas.

As a contribution to the study of anthropology the book has its defects, but, as an exposition of the art of controversy by an unrivalled expert, it can be strongly recommended. RAGLAN.

## Men against Women: A Study of Sexual Relations.

By T. Besterman. London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1934. 7½ x 5½. 238 pp. 6s.

This book may be described as an attempt to popularize Crawley's theory that marriage, and all the rites and customs connected therewith, are based on a fundamental antagonism between the sexes, based on the savage's fear of becoming weak through contact with women.

In the first part he sketches in succession the marriage rites and ideas on sex of the Tasmanians, Bushmen, Pueblo Indians, Chinese, Ancient Greeks, early Christians and modern English. In the second part he gives a large number of examples of sexual taboos of various types drawn from all over the world.

Mr. Besterman seems never to have heard of the now widely held opinion that the culture of, e.g., the Bushmen is degenerate rather than primitive, or of the case which has been made by Mr. Hocart, Professor James and others for regarding all marriage ceremonies as being derived from coronation ritual. He has not noticed Mrs. Seligman's criticism of his edition of 'The Mystic Rose' (MAN, 1928, 60), and he follows many psychologists in attributing customs to instinct or "psychological necessity" without attempting to explain why they are not universal.

There is little in the book which will be new to anthropologists, but it may serve a useful purpose by interesting the public in these problems, and indicating the difficulties which attend their attempted solution. RAGLAN.

## Sexual Regulations and Human Behaviour.

By J. D. Unwin, M.C., Ph.D. Williams & Norgate, 1933. Pp. xv, 109. 7s. 6d.

The author sets out to test a theory that was evolved by psycho-analysts. After a careful review of the evidence derived from a study of eighty primitive peoples and of such higher civilizations as those of the Sumerians, Babylonians, Hellenes, Romans, Moors, Anglo-Saxons, and English, he comes to the conclusion that compulsory sacrifices of sexual satisfaction produce mental and social energy, and that the cultural condition of any society is conditioned by its past and present methods of regulating the relations between the sexes. It seems that pre-nuptial continence, especially of the women, is the most important factor, though where this exists post-nuptial restrictions, culminating in strict monogamy, also favour cultural development. Since, however, a person is largely affected by his social tradition, which is itself influenced by previous generations, it takes roughly a hundred years, or three generations, for a cultural change to be effected.

In chapter I Dr. Unwin carefully defines his terms, and gives tables showing a relation between zoistic, manistic, and deistic societies on one hand and varying degrees of sexual restriction on the other. In chapter II he draws attention to shortcomings of the anthropological record, and points out the danger of using native terms apart from their context, and the difficulty of giving definite expression to what are frequently vague and undefined beliefs. We have often attributed to natives beliefs in spirits and spiritual entities where they think only of a mysterious quality. In the third and last chapter the author deals with necessity in human affairs, and tests his theories on the touchstone of concrete cases.

It is impossible in a short review to give a complete summary of this book which is itself a summary. Dr. Unwin is here merely presenting us with the conclusions which he has drawn from the study of a vast amount of literature. If he is correct his conclusions must be of very considerable importance to anthro-

pologists and historians, and to members of the various churches. Whether he is correct or not can only be decided when he produces the detailed evidence upon which his theories are based. It is to be hoped that he will not tarry long in publishing this evidence.

R. U. SAYCE.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### The Amuletic Hand.

SIR,—The moving pictures of the Worora tribe of N.W. Australia recently exhibited to the Royal Anthropological Institute remind us of the problem presented by the hand-prints placed on the cave walls of Australians and palæolithic men. The caves of the latter, it is generally agreed, constituted holy places, and in view of the spirit-pictures found in the Australian caves there can be little doubt that they, too, bear that character. We may, therefore, hope to find help for the solution of the problem in the usages of other countries in respect to their holy places.

Useful data will be found, I believe, in ancient Egypt. There the king's statue was erected in the temples to act as his deputy, both to receive offerings and to devote them to the gods; see Blackman, *Recueil d'Études Égyptiennes dédiées à la mémoire de J.-F. Champollion*, pp. 152-3. By this means it was believed that his personal direction of the temple rites would be permanently assured, even in his absence. The perpetuation of the rites themselves was achieved by carving permanent representations of them on the temple walls, a matter of vital consequence to the nation whose prosperity, as it was believed, depended on the regular performance of those rites; see my article, *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, No. XVII.

Favoured courtiers, also, were granted by the king the privilege of having portrait statues of themselves set up in the temples, thereby gaining constant contact with the holy precincts and a share of the blessings that flowed from them. A good example of such a statue is recorded in *Tarkhan I and Memphis V*, p. 33 ff.

Now the ordinary man could not hope for this high privilege, but he procured a substitute by leaving personal traces of himself in the holy place, in the shape of footprints marked on the floor, doubtless by temple attendants whom he had fed; in some cases they added his name (see Naville, *Deir el Bahari, the Eleventh Dynasty Temple*, I, p. 25).

Here, it would seem, we have an exact parallel with the hand-prints found in the caves of primitive men. Macalister, *Textbook of European Archaeology*, I, p. 509, adduces the modern employment of the outstretched hand as a prophylactic against the Evil Eye; in the Near East and elsewhere this symbol is painted or hung on walls, harness, carts, etc., for their protection, but no such measure is needed for holy places, whose sacredness is in itself protective. It would further appear that the finger mutilation so fully discussed by Sollas, *Ancient Hunters*, ch. VIII, was, as far as the caves were concerned, only incidental. An analogue with this use of hand-prints may be seen in the widespread practice of tying fragments of clothing to trees of hallowed character, although modern usage has narrowed down its purpose to some specific object such as the curing of disease; see Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, ch. XI, especially pp. 214-15.

In ancient Egypt a kind of reverse process with regard to footprints may be seen in the practice of brushing them away from the floor at the completion of ritual observances, in tombs as well as temples, with the purpose, presumably, of keeping them free from un-

desirable contacts; see Alan Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhêt*, pp. 93-4, and, with more assured conclusions, Blackman in Hastings' *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. XII, p. 779, sec. 4 (4), with further references. Footprints are regarded by many primitive people as vehicles for magic, mostly evil—see the examples collected by Rôheim, *Animism, Magic and the Divine King*, p. 69 ff.

May I add some remarks on the prophylactic use of the outstretched hand. In Muslim circles where it flourishes it is sometimes called 'the hand of Fatimeh' (the Prophet's daughter), thus attaining, by a contact, however slight, with established religion, a higher rank than that of mere superstition. In Egypt it may be directed against a suspected enemy or stranger; but the gesture is rare, at least openly, as it constitutes an insult which might draw down revenge. In Greece, as a sojourner among the country folk years ago has told me, the insult is so great that it is likely to call forth a dagger. It is replaced in Italy, against the *jettatura*, by the forked fingers—again not openly. The pose, with index and little fingers pointing like a pair of horns to the object of fear, is found in Egyptian amuletic hands of the Ptolemaic period. It seems that the schoolboy's insult of a 'long nose' (or, vulgarly, 'cock-snook') may derive from the wider gesture, for the Egyptian, in using it, places the thumb close to the outer edge of the eye, from which to the nose is a small step. The schoolboy, then, may be preserving a relic of an earlier practice, introduced, perhaps, by foreigners—students, pedlars or seamen—but fading to its present anæmia in a less superstitious medium.

In modern Egypt the protective virtues of the hand appear to have found a foothold in the number five; for, in bargaining, when one arrives at that number, the bargainer will sometimes use the words 'in the eye of the Enemy'—i.e., Satan.

For ancient Egypt Petrie has proposed (*Amulets*, p. 11) that the hand amulet signified power in action; this is the general interpretation concerning hands, and has been treated in detail in Hastings' *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. VI, p. 492 ff.; it may be correct for the clenched fist, which in hieroglyphs denotes 'seizing' and which was also a potent amulet in Babylonia, where it is found modelled in clay, and as a handle on the back of amuletic stamp-seals. But the plain hand as amulet had another meaning, revealed by the objects found by Brunton in graves of the First Intermediate period, when amulets first appear in considerable quantities: miniature models of hands were fastened round the wrists of the dead, and of legs round the ankles, for the magical protection of the limbs (*Qau and Badari*, II, p. 16, par. 21). As regards the outspread hand, its use in the modern way of Egypt and Greece may very well be founded on the natural gesture of warding off a physical threat.

G. D. HORNBLOWER.

### Indian Cave Paintings: a correction.

SIR,—I have recently, as a guest of the Raja Sahib of Raigath, visited the sites of Singhanpur and Kabra Patrar. Among a number of points of interest the following, I think, merits early mention.



In Professor Gordon Childe's *New Light on the Most Ancient East*, his fig. 10 bears no actual resemblance to any painting in the shelter. It can only be presumed that whoever first drew it, intended it for the boar (?) which is just below the large animal in the famous hunting scene, there being no other animal of this style. Reference to *Memoir No. 24* of the Archaeological Survey of India—which, though it is not without its shortcomings, has on the whole very accurate illustrations—will show that both the animal and its adjacent figures are different in the original. The scale also is wrong; it should be about twice that shown.

The most important item, however, is the two harpoon-like signs on the animal. These taken in conjunction with his next figure showing two Natufian harpoons of similar type could be most misleading.

The two animals in the hunting scene are very vague, the large one because it is scaled, the small one because it is in faint outline. I looked particularly for any sign of a harpoon on the latter and there was none, nor is any shown in *Memoir No. 24*.

As the presence of arrow heads and other objects, on animals painted on rocks has certain palæolithic connotations, their presence is so important that absolute certainty is necessary for them to be shown as forming part of any design. Here, I must repeat, there is none.

D. H. GORDON, Major.

*Small Arms School, Puchmarhi.*

**The Abbey Folk Park and Museum.** cf. MAN, 1935, 66.

**86** SIR,—With reference to Miss Durham's letter published in the April number of MAN, 1935, No. 66, I think perhaps your readers will be interested to know that on May 4th, at 3 p.m., Mr. Morgan, M.P. for Stourbridge, and Parliamentary Secretary for the National Union of Teachers, has agreed to open the new Ethnographical Section of the Folk Park. Up till now the Folk Park has restricted itself to the history of Great Britain, but we feel that seeing that Great Britain is the centre of a World Empire, we ought to develop a parallel section dealing with ethnography, and in particular showing the various types of homes still in use among the more primitive races. In the African Village there will be 15 structures, including different types of native huts found in a broad belt across Central Africa, and among them a Fetish house; a Chief's hut; an African Bazaar; a Witch Doctor's hut; and so forth. These are being furnished with representative objects and furnishings from native Africa, and visitors will be able to compare the type of hut our own prehistoric ancestors used, with the not very dissimilar structures still used in many parts of our Empire among the backward races. There will also be several ethnographical galleries.

In conclusion, I enclose our illustrated Guide to the English Section of the Folk Park and hope that you will be able to find space in the valuable columns of your periodical for a review.

FATHER J. S. M. WARD.

[Father Ward has presented to the library of the Royal Anthropological Institute a copy of his *Brief Guide to the Abbey Folk Park and Museum*, New Barnet, of which he is the Director. It contains, among other illustrations, a photograph of the 13th-century Tithe Barn, now the Abbey Church of Christ the King.—ED.]

**Bow-stand or Trident?** cf. MAN, 1929, 147.

**87** SIR,—A letter from Dr. Audrey Richards has told me of what she has been able to discover, regarding what I originally described as 'tridents' from Northern Nyasaland in MAN, 1929, 147. When her

letter reached me I was on the point of writing a short note to you with reference to Mr. Gordon Lancaster's note in MAN, 1934, 209, simply to thank him for the corroboration which that short note gave of the suggestion which I had ventilated as to the chieftainly and sacrosanct nature of these iron objects.



FIG. 1.—'KANYENDA,' NYASALAND CHIEF SITTING ON HIS HEREDITARY STOOL.

(With acknowledgements to Rev. A. G. MacAlpine, late of Nyasaland, for the use of photograph which he took in 1932.)

I note that Dr. Richards states for Bemba country quite as categorically as I was able to state for Northern Nyasaland, that iron work of this sort is no longer done by the people, nor had they claimed it for their predecessors. I feel pretty well assured that the Chikuramayembe dynasty of nKamanga had a western origin, and I think suggestions which Dr. Richards, I believe, will make that a long-forgotten Luba culture may be responsible for the presence of these iron objects, both in nKamanga and in Bemba, will help to carry our research into tribal migration a step further back.

Further, I note with great interest Miss Richard's reference to "a small round iron stool" which she found on one of the Bangweolu Islands associated with a 'trident'—or as we must now say, bow-stand—and which she states to be about 8 ins. high. A similar round iron stool in the possession of one of the chiefs in the West Nyasa District of Nyasaland, and held by him as hereditary, is shown in Fig. 1.

One cannot be too grateful to her for the way in which she has already answered so much that was embodied in my tentative queries of 1929.

T. CULLEN YOUNG.





INCH. ■■■■■ ■■■■■ ■■■■■

**WASSAIL-BOWL, DATED 1834, MADE AT EWENNY, GLAMORGAN.**

*Photo : National Museum of Wales.*

# MAN

## A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

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### ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Wales.

With Plate F.

Peate.

**A Welsh Wassail-Bowl : with a Note on the Mari Lwyd.** By Iorwerth C. Peate, M.A., F.S.A. *National Museum of Wales.*

An interesting specimen in the Welsh Folk Collections in the National Museum of Wales,<sup>1</sup> illustrating the survival of folk-tradition is a wassail-bowl of early nineteenth century date made at the Ewenny Pottery, Glamorgan. **88**

Wassailing customs in Wales have been dealt with fully by Professor T. H. Parry-Williams, M.A., D.Litt. in his *Llawysgrif Richard Morris o Gerddi*<sup>2</sup> to whose work the present writer acknowledges his indebtedness. It is well-established that wassail customs were formerly well-known throughout Wales. In parts of South Wales such customs were until recently associated with *Mari Lwyd* festivities. *Mari Lwyd* customs have survived in Glamorgan to this day but it is wrong to suppose that their absence in modern times from other parts of Wales proves their non-existence at all times in north and mid Wales. *Mari Lwyd* was merely a south Wales variant of a custom common 'throughout the country [Wales].'<sup>3</sup>

The *Mari Lwyd* consists of a horse's skull and jaws sheeted and adorned with coloured ribbons, papers and streamers. This is carried on a man's shoulders at the head of a procession during Christmas and New Year festivities. The bearer of the head, working the lower jaw by means of a wooden handle, is led from house to house in the village and at each house a request for admittance and for permission to sing is proffered in extempore verse which follows traditional rules. The occupants of the house reply in verse and a rhymed dialogue of set type ensues, ending with the admission of the party. The custom is no doubt a survival of a pre-Christian tradition, an 'ecotype' of the many hobby-horse customs found in Britain, Ireland, Europe and even as far afield as Java.<sup>4</sup> The Christian church adopted those customs which it could not suppress and the *Mari Lwyd* probably became associated in medieval times with religious ceremonial thus acquiring its name *Mari Lwyd* (Holy Mary). The custom flourished down to modern times and is still met with: it is practised in the Cardiff district, Bridgend, Llangynwyd, Neath and other Glamorgan districts. A *Mari Lwyd* with at least twelve singers was seen 'performing' in a chemist's shop, amongst other places, in Mumbles, Swansea, on Christmas Eve, 1934, and in the same district, on the same evening, a small boy carol-singer was seen carrying a 'toy' *Mari Lwyd* on a stick—a significant deterioration.<sup>5</sup>

Literally *was heil* means 'be whole' and wassailing in its various forms was originally concerned with a primitive urge to induce fructification or well-being. 'Wassail the trees that they may bear' wrote Herrick, and references may be made to the wassailing at Christmas time of apple-trees. This health-drinking was associated with certain feast- or holy-days, notably Christmas, the New Year and

<sup>1</sup> Acknowledgements are due to the National Museum of Wales for permission to describe the bowl and for the use of the photograph.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. xlv-xcii. (University of Wales Press Board, 1931.)

<sup>3</sup> The late Principal J. H. Davies in the *Journal of the Welsh Folk Song Society*, I, i, p. 34.

<sup>4</sup> See, for instance, 'West Country Hobby-Horses and 'Cognate Customs' in the *Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, 1931, pp. 63-77, and *The Festival Book of Salisbury*, p. 64.

For ecotype see C. W. von Sydow in *Béaloideas*, IV, p. 349.

<sup>5</sup> Communicated by my colleague, Mr. A. H. Lee, M.C.

Twelfth Night, *i.e.*, feast-days immediately preceding the New Year and the coming of spring. The Welsh wassail-songs are concerned with this drinking custom (hence the term *carolau gwirod* by which the songs are known) but they must be distinguished from the well-known drinking songs.

While the *Gwaseilwyr* (wassailers) proper needed not to trouble themselves with providing a *Mari Lwyd*, those who went about with a *Mari Lwyd* were perforce obliged to 'Sing Gwassaila'.<sup>6</sup> Consequently health-drinking was a part of the *Mari Lwyd* ceremonial in South Wales, the singers being provided with a wassail-bowl. Such a bowl is illustrated in Plate F. This wassail-bowl was passed round so that the company might drink out of it.

The bowl illustrated, like most of those used in Glamorgan, was made at the pottery at Ewenny, near Bridgend, Glamorgan. The early history of this pottery has not yet been elucidated, but it is possible that it may have been associated in medieval times with Ewenny Priory (founded 1140 A.D.). There is, however, no known evidence for this conjecture. The pottery flourished in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and remains productive to this day. Three wassail bowls of Ewenny ware are exhibited in the National Museum of Wales and the bowl illustrated is of special interest to anthropologists. It is 21.5 cms. in height (42.0 cms. with the lid): diameter at lip 26.5 cms. The bowl is of reddish earthenware covered with white slip and glazed. It had originally eighteen loop handles, three of which have been broken off. The bowl is decorated with scratch decoration, zig-zags and circles on the handles, zig-zags, leaf-designs, circles and intersecting circles on the bowl itself: it is inscribed *Thomas Arthyr/De<sup>ber</sup> 30 Maker 1834* and

*Diai nid oes bai yn bod  
Ar lester wna I mi wylisdod  
O waith Arthir weithiwr hynod  
Y gora iw y chui fe garia y clod  
(?clai)*

(Without doubt there is no blemish upon a vessel that is useful to me, made by Arthur, remarkable worker; he is the best for you, he bears renown [or, if the reading is *clai* as the alliteration suggests] the clay is the best: it bears renown.)

The spelling is that of an uneducated person but the stanza is a brave attempt at the highly specialized *englyn* form.

The lid is of still greater interest. The flat top is inscribed *Spring* and *Langan* (*i.e.*, Llangan, Glamorgan). From this a figure, obviously that of Spring, has been broken off. The lid originally had a series of nine rows of loops, three loops in each row. Many of these have now been broken off. On each and in between each loop, as well as in between each row of loops, the potter placed a variety of figures: oakleaves with human faces at their base, berries, birds of various descriptions, dogs and other animals, with two human figures, the less mutilated of which has its arms outstretched over the flat top on which was placed the figure of Spring. All these figures, representative of the life of the countryside, are shown groping towards the central and dominating figure of Spring surmounting the bowl.

The character of the bowl with its peculiar decoration is obviously traditional and it is probable that the decoration, made by an early nineteenth-century craftsman, following a traditional custom is an unconscious survival of a ceremony (associated with the origin of wassailing) intended to ensure the rebirth of nature in spring and the initiation of the earth's annual fructification. The bowl is a relic of a "rite designed to assist the revival of life in spring . . . Led astray by his ignorance of the true causes of things, primitive man believed that in order to produce the great phenomena of nature on which his life depended, he had only to initiate them."<sup>7</sup>

IORWERTH C. PEATE.

### Palæolithic.

**The Problem of Palæolithic Pottery.** *By J. Reid Moir.*

**Reid Moir.**

**89** The question as to whether Upper Palæolithic man made pottery continues to be of considerable interest to archæologists. Though this question cannot, rightly, be given the status of a major problem in archæology, there, nevertheless, exist two schools of thought very sharply divided

<sup>6</sup> *Arch. Camb.* 1888, p. 389.

<sup>7</sup> Sir James Frazer: *The Golden Bough* (abridged edition), pp. 320, 323.

upon it. There are, in fact, those who seem to see something almost derogatory to palæolithic man in the claim that he made pottery, while, on the other hand, there are some who appear to regard it as altogether too bad that this accomplishment should be denied him. No one, of course, who has made a study of the question, would be likely to support the view that, given the opportunity, Upper Palæolithic man would have lacked the necessary ability to construct a simple vessel out of clay. In fact, when his known accomplishments and attributes are passed in review, his superb mastery in various forms of art—his consummate skill in flint flaking, and the high physical type of the man himself—it seems somewhat difficult to assign a limit to his material achievements. In any case, there are no grounds for believing that he lacked any of those qualities which may be looked upon as necessary in those who achieve success in the making of pottery. It remains, then, to consider whether actual palæolithic pottery has been discovered. In the first place, it is true that a large number of undisturbed cave deposits of Upper Palæolithic age have been examined and found to be destitute of pottery, and while this evidence is of a negative nature, it is not lightly to be dismissed. It is, indeed, a fact that many competent investigators have failed to record the finding of pottery in the cave deposits they have examined. The obvious, and possibly true, explanation of this is that there was no pottery to find; but there remains also the possibility that such specimens were overlooked. This is no idle supposition, because, speaking from actual experience, I can testify to the great difficulty of recognizing fragments of pottery in ancient deposits. Moreover, I have little doubt that, until I became familiar with what to look for, I also had failed to recognize such fragments. The term 'pottery' conjures up in most people's minds a picture of hard, well-preserved sherds which 'jump to the eyes,' and are unmistakable. But the ancient pottery I have seen *in situ* was not hard, or well-preserved, nor, with the exception of an extremely rare portion of rim, were there present any pieces to which the term 'sherd' could appropriately be applied. The ancient specimens were mostly very small, and in a most sodden and friable condition. They were of a black colour, and unless carefully examined, when the minute pieces of burnt flint embedded in them became visible, would have been, and, in fact, by my excavator, were regarded as merely small fragments of charcoal. If such specimens were present in a hearth, or in a deposit of dark colour in a cave, any one might be excused for having failed to recognize their real character. I can, indeed, recall a case in which I showed a competent observer a piece of ancient pottery embedded in its original matrix of sandy clay, and he failed completely to understand its nature. On another occasion I found, in a small collection of what were considered by those who had found them, to be fragments of charcoal, two or more pieces of primitive pottery, and this recognition led to the discovery of more specimens in the ancient deposit under investigation. I mention these matters merely to draw attention to the undoubted fact that this archaic pottery possesses few of the characteristics of later examples, and requires a special and extremely careful search if it is to be discovered.

There are numerous records of the alleged discovery of pottery in undisturbed strata of Upper Palæolithic age. Certain caves in Belgium have yielded it.<sup>1</sup> M. Lohest, one of the discoverers of the Spy skeletons, told me, when he was last in England, that he had found small fragments of pottery indisputably associated with the culture discovered with these Neanderthal remains. If this is to be relied upon, then the art of pottery making was discovered before what are generally regarded as Upper Palæolithic times. In England, Mr. J. P. T. Burchell, F.S.A., has notified the occurrence of pieces of pottery in certain deposits in the Thames Valley,<sup>2</sup> but the question of the age of these is still *sub judice* and cannot be dealt with here. In south-east Devon, Mr. and Mrs. MacAlpine Woods have found further fragments in a richly implementiferous accumulation in a dry valley near Beer, while many years ago I discovered further examples associated with a culture of Upper Palæolithic facies associated with the bones of *Elephas primigenius*, *Cervus megaceros* (?), *Cervus elephas*, *Cervus capreolus*, *Equus robustus*, *Equus prjevalskii* (?), *Equus* (species ?), *Bos longifrons*, *Sus scrofa*, and *Capra hircus*.<sup>3</sup> Further, the position in the now dry valley in which these specimens were found was such that, after several years of excavation and the most careful weighing up of the evidence, I decided that the cul-

<sup>1</sup> *L'Anthropologie*, Vol. X, pp. 524-533; Vol. XII, Vol. II, p. 302.  
p. 697

<sup>2</sup> *Archæologia*, Vol. LXXXIII, p. 87; *Antiq. Journ.*, papers.  
<sup>3</sup> *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.*, XLVII, 1917, and other

tural and mammalian remains must be referred to the latter part of the Pleistocene Epoch. To this opinion I still adhere, for the simple reason that I have not yet been confronted with any evidence to refute it. But certain of my friends inform me that my views on this matter are obviously incorrect. They state that the specimens found by me belong to what they call the 'Mesolithic' period, which, I imagine, is what used to be quite satisfactorily termed the Early Neolithic Epoch. It is, of course, possible that these friends of mine are right, but if they are, then this Mesolithic period extends back in time, in Suffolk, to days when the now dry lateral valleys were only partially excavated—the main rivers were flowing considerably higher than at present, and a period of severe cold had still to arrive and to disappear. I am, however, gradually becoming accustomed to the idea that the Mesolithic epoch was clearly of a very remarkable and even astounding nature, such as, unfortunately, does not lend itself to easy and adequate description. But these matters will no doubt adjust themselves in time, and meanwhile, some of us may perhaps be forgiven if we continue to favour the idea that Upper Palæolithic man was not wholly unacquainted with the use of pottery, and that evidence of this is, in fact, already in existence.

J. REID MOIR.

**Melanesia.****Bell.****The Divination of Sorcery in Melanesia.** *By F. L. S. Bell, M.A.*

**90** The rite about to be described was at one time a feature of the culture of the Tanga people, a Melanesian community occupying a group of islands off the East coast of New Ireland, Mandated Territory of New Guinea.<sup>1</sup> The details of the divinatory process were given to me by

two aged men who had themselves taken part in the rite. The statements of these men were checked against the observations of others who had merely witnessed the ceremony.

A feature of Tanga culture is the ritual importance attached to death. Indeed, the amount of ceremonial accompanying the death of a man or woman, and the number of mortuary feasts organized and attended by the natives of this island, overwhelmed me somewhat during my stay there. One of the first in a long series of funeral feasts is that which is held immediately after the first inhumation of the body and which is called *en na poktan kinit*, lit., the feast / which is held / near / the corpse.

Several years ago a young married woman died in a rather unaccountable fashion, and sorcery was immediately suspected. When the feast called *en na poktan kinit* had concluded, five or six somewhat distant male relatives of the girl, determined to use the method called *iri onon na kinit*, i.e. 'several men fish for the ghost,' in an attempt to discover the identity of the sorcerer responsible for her death. They obtained a



FIG. 1. *an onon na kinit*. LIT., 'A FISHING ROD FOR THE DEAD,' COMPOSED OF TWO VARIETIES OF HIGHLY PERFUMED HERBS AND VERTEBRÆ FROM THE SPINAL COLUMN OF A PIG.

bamboo pole about 30 feet long and to the pliable end, they tied a bunch of highly perfumed leaves. These herbs have the native names of *karon* (*Croton* sp.) and *sinokfat*, and are regarded by the natives as powerful aphrodisiacs. Within the bundle of scented leaves, three vertebræ, covered with succulent flesh from the spinal column of one of the pigs eaten at the feast, were also placed. The pole was called *an onon na kinit*, i.e., 'a fishing rod for the dead,' and when all was ready the men placed it on their right shoulders and marched away from the place where the girl

<sup>1</sup> The author carried out anthropological research among the Tanga islanders during 1933 for the Australian National Research Council. For further details as to the culture of these people, *vide*, *Oceania*, iv and v.

was buried. They were very careful to place the 'bait' at the back of them, in order to avoid catching sight of the ghost which they were seeking. All human beings have souls which at death change into ghosts. These ghosts are much feared and may be looked on with impunity from a place of hiding or under cover of night.

The party made its way across the island to Ankokonafam, the settlement where the girl was born,<sup>2</sup> since her ghost was more likely to be hovering about that part of the island than her late home. Having arrived at Ankokonafam the men walked about the bush and attempted to attract the ghost of the girl by whistling to it. The ghost was also subjected to an invitation by song 'to come and smell the fragrant leaves.' The name of the girl was then shouted through the bush and the ghost was summarily bidden to taste of the juicy morsel of pork which hung from the bamboo rod: *On la! O'k en uf an tuan bo.* "Come now! Eat ye of the flesh of this pig's back-bone."

After tramping through the bush for some time, the pole began to grow heavy on their shoulders and the men immediately concluded that they had ensnared the girl's ghost. They turned their faces towards Lufunkomo, the place where the young woman was buried and, strong in the conviction that her ghost was following behind them, they at length came in sight of the village. Almost immediately they felt relieved from the drag of the ghost on the pole and they knew from the shouts of the people in the village that the girl's ghost had fled from them to her husband's house. Cries that the ghost had been seen standing at the doorway of her house, confirmed them in this opinion.

Before the pole-bearing party approached closer to the house, wherein the ghost had been seen, its numbers were increased to twenty men, who, belly to back, clung tenaciously to the *onon na kinit*. Under no circumstances were 'tabu' relatives allowed to take part in this rite. They could not have questioned the ghost of the girl properly, nor could the ghost have answered them. This is interesting as it proves that kinship avoidances extend even beyond the grave. The man nearest to the 'baited' end of the pole was one of the girl's cross-cousins and it is this person who questioned the ghost as to the identity of the guilty sorcerer. The twenty men gradually moved backwards towards the entrance of the house and thrust the pole and its 'bait' through the leafy end of the dwelling, so that the bunch of scented leaves and meat dangled from amidst the rafters, i.e., just a little too high for the ghost of the girl to reach.

The first command from the inquisitorial cross-cousins were couched in these terms:

*Finfalu, kep uf an tuan bo*

"Finfalu, take hold of this present of a pig's back-bone."

The pole bearers then felt the flexible end of the pole move rather violently and they knew that the ghost was attempting to eat the pork. Old Neru, one of my informants, emphasized the fact that ghosts were possessed of enormous strength and it was only with difficulty that the men holding the pole could keep it on their shoulders. After the ghost had responded by gnawing at the meat, the cross-cousin continued his questions: "*se kifor?* Who has made this evil sorcery against you? *Funmatbau?* A man named Funmatbau. Eh?"

After several names had been mentioned and the pole had not moved, thus indicating that none of those mentioned was the guilty man, the questioner varied his tactics: "*Se*

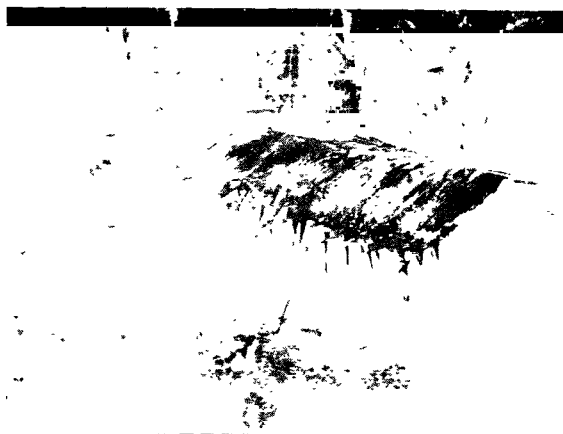


FIG. 2. SMALL TANGAN GRAVE-HOUSE. NOTE THE ROW OF *karon* TREES WHICH ARE ALWAYS PLANTED AROUND A CEMETERY. ALSO NOTE THE BUNCH OF PIG'S JAW-BONES HANGING FROM ONE OF THE *karon* TREES.

<sup>2</sup> Marriage is patrilocal in Tanga and a wife is often buried among her husband's people.



*kifor? ti kahltu lo<sup>3</sup>? o kwawid lo<sup>4</sup>* "Who bespelled you? No man here? You are holding it. Eh?"

There was still no response to this form of questioning and the questioner continued to call out many names, including that of the husband. My informants stressed this point, because it is a well-known fact that many husbands would be gladly rid of their wives.

At length, on calling out a certain name, the pole began to vibrate violently and to be drawn inside the house. It took all the strength of the twenty men to prevent it from moving towards the dwelling and Nessessau, another of my informants, stressed the fact that the violence of the pull exerted by the ghost had torn the flesh from his hands and shoulders. During this struggle, the cross-cousin called out to the ghost: *On et! on kepe! kemek parfat n' kaionatuk, bala i suk usio kakifor.* "Go on! Take it! We understand who your man is. He was angry with you and bespelled you."

At length the pole stopped vibrating and the men slowly withdrew it from the house and placed it beside the grave of the dead girl.

I questioned the informants as to the action taken against the guilty (?) sorcerer, and was told that no directly punitive sanction existed to cover cases of this nature. The pole, placed in its prominent position in the settlement, excited the curiosity of all passers-by and on inquiring about the matter, full details of the crime and the criminal would be supplied by the sorrowing relatives of the girl. The sorcerer would be publicly convicted as an unsocial being and this would bring its own punishment. Anyone who has lived in a primitive community and who has come into contact with a native who, for some reason or other, has been shut out of the ordinary social life of the community, will understand the extreme severity of such a form of punishment.

As is the case in Tanga with most mechanisms connected with sorcery, it was alleged by my informants that the rite was introduced from Nokon, a district on the east coast of New Ireland. Both Nessessau and Neru asserted that, in their youth, they had never seen the rite performed in Tanga. Other informants claimed that they had seen it used on the mainland of New Ireland, but they could not tell me who first used the method in Tanga. However, introduced or indigenous, there is no question that the method was regarded as a certain means of obtaining evidence against a sorcerer. Even natives who had had several years contact with mission and trading stations were emphatic that no trickery was resorted to by the performers.

Such manifestations are quite in accord with Tanga beliefs as to the nature and behaviour of the souls of the dead and the only part of the rite which lacks a rational explanation is that which concerns the violent motion of the pole when a certain name was mentioned. Anyone who has carried a long bamboo pole on his shoulder knows how easy it is to set such an object in motion, and although twenty men were holding it clasped to their shoulders, it is quite probable that in their state of excitement and under cover of the dark,<sup>5</sup> a majority of the performers could give expression to their own private opinions as to who killed the girl, by moving the pole.

F. L. S. BELL.

### Europe: Prehistoric.

Davies.

**Antimony Bronze in Central Europe.** By Oliver Davies, M.A., Queen's University, Belfast.

**91** The remains at Velem St. Vid show it to have been one of the most important metallurgical sites in the middle Danube basin in the Late Bronze Age; though a full report of the recent excavations is awaited, tentative conclusions may be drawn.<sup>1</sup> Velem possessed mines of copper,

<sup>3</sup> *Ti kahltu lo?* Seeing that none of her clansmen is present, the question really means: 'Well, if the guilty person is not a non-tabu relative, he must be a fellow-clansman!' The inference is that the woman had committed clan incest. Indeed, the majority of these cases of sorcery against a woman are believed to be the result of her refusing to grant sexual favours to the sorcerer.

<sup>4</sup> *O kwawid lo?* This question infers that the ghost

is too ashamed to admit that a fellow-clansman had offered her sexual violence and she holds the pole in order to stop it from vibrating and thus make known the perfidy of her own clansman.

<sup>5</sup> These events occurred between the hours of 6.30 p.m. and 7.30 p.m.

<sup>1</sup> von Miske, "Velem St. Vid"; *Archiv für Anthropologie*, ii (1904), 124, xxii (1932), 66; *Wiener prähist. Zeitsch.*, xvi (1929), 81; Helm, *Z. f. Ethn.*, 1895, 1.

antimony, and iron. Its people showed high commercial sense in manufacturing articles of types appreciated only in the country whither they were destined to be exported.

But to be serviceable for tools copper must be alloyed, and the only convenient source of tin was the southern slope of the Saxon Erzgebirge.<sup>2</sup> The sporadic distribution of tin-bronze outside Bohemia suggests that the owners of these mines were not anxious to part with their metal. The people of Velem, therefore, experimented with lead, arsenic, and antimony.<sup>3</sup> The last was the most successful, and its ores were abundant locally: ingots of antimony-bronze and pieces of raw and purified antimony have been found at Velem; the arm-rings at Zirknitz (Krain)<sup>4</sup> may have been imported hence.

The distribution of antimony-bronze in Central Europe corresponds roughly to the typological connections with Velem. The alloy does not occur in Hungary until the discovery of the Velem mines in the Middle Bronze Age. To the east there are two pieces from Tordos.<sup>5</sup> Northwards the trade-route followed the Oder valley, antimony-bronze being common in Silesia<sup>6</sup> and West Prussia.<sup>7</sup> North-westwards it is notably absent, for the low percentages in Schleswig copper<sup>8</sup> are almost certainly an ore impurity; the only example is a doubtful piece from Einödhausen, near Henneberg (Thuringia).<sup>9</sup> This region was cut off from Hungary by Bohemia, which has no close typological connections with Velem. Westwards antimony-bronze was probably traded along the Danube valley: two early torques of this alloy are reported from Upper Austria and Salzburg.<sup>10</sup> The pile-dwellers were in contact with Velem St. Vid: antimony-bronze is found at Roseninsel (Bavaria)<sup>11</sup>, while the Swiss were so destitute of metal that they used it for weapons and tools.<sup>12</sup> Southwards and south-westwards there are typological connections with Istria and Bosnia: but owing to lack of analyses the alloy cannot be traced.

There was an early distribution-centre of antimony-bronze in the Caucasus and Mesopotamia<sup>13</sup>; but it would be hazardous at present to assume a connection with Velem St. Vid, as an intelligent people might discover the alloy independently. In La-Tène times antimony-bronze was produced in the Vosges<sup>14</sup>; there are also two doubtful pieces from Touraine.<sup>15</sup> The Early Bronze Age axes from Pile and Skifvarp (Sweden)<sup>16</sup> are thought to be of English origin, though antimony-bronze has not been found in this country. Antimony does, however, occur with tin in West Cornwall,<sup>17</sup> and mixed ore may have been used. Otherwise, European antimony-bronze seems derived entirely from

<sup>2</sup> The existence of placers in the Bohemian plain is proved by the high tin percentage of Bohemian bronze in the Early Bronze Age. The mines of the northern side of the Erzgebirge, the Fichtelgebirge (Schmidt, *Anthrop. Kbl.*, 1884, 17; *Prähist. Blätter*, 1896, Beilage 10; *Archiv. für Gesch. u. Altertumskunde in Oberfranken*, xv 3 (1883), 187, xvi, 3 (1886), 316, xviii, 1 (1890), 178). Vogtland and Querbach (Treptow, *Geschichtsblätter für Technik*, vii (1920), 66) were worked at the Renaissance and in the Middle Ages, but there is no evidence for exploitation in the prehistoric period, or even as early as the I millennium A.D.

<sup>3</sup> The first two may have been ore impurities; but the composition of a matte or slag found at Velem shows that the copper-ore was nearly pure.

<sup>4</sup> Sklarek, *Verh. berl. anthr. Ges.*, 1893, 161.

<sup>5</sup> Helm, *Verh. berl. anthr. Ges.*, 1895, 619.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. the neckring from Glogau given by von Miske.

<sup>7</sup> Helm, *Verh. berl. anthr. Ges.*, 1897, 123; *Z. f. Ethnologie*, 1895, 1. The ring from Jiciněves (Schneider, *Mitt. d. Zentral komm.*, 3. Erforschung u. Exhaltung d. Baudenk mäl. 28 (1902) 105), Bohemia, and far from the tin mines, may be regarded as a stray from this route, as it has its parallel at Czlogou.

<sup>8</sup> Kröhnke, *Untersuchungen vorgeschichtlicher Bronzen Schleswig-Holsteins*.

<sup>9</sup> Jahn, *Wohler and Liebig's Annalen der Chemie und*

*Pharmacie*, xxvii, 338.

<sup>10</sup> Klose, *Mitt. anthr. Ges. Wien*, 1931, 137.

<sup>11</sup> von Schab, *Beitr. z. Anthropol. u. Urgesch. Bayerns*, 1876, 1.

<sup>12</sup> Cp. von Bibra's analyses of a ring from Hageneck, sword from Hohenrain, pin sickel and celt from Nydau-Steinberg (*Bronzen und Kupferlegierungen der alten Völker*).

<sup>13</sup> For Mesopotamia, cp. Helm, *Verh. berl. anthr. Ges.*, 1901, 157; also the formula given in a pre-Sargonic letter from Tello (Sayce, *MAN*, 1921, 97), with 5.84 per cent. of a substance which may be antimony. For the Caucasus, cp. the bell from Besinghy (Virchow, *Verh. berl. anthr. Ges.*, 1890, 449), and the metallic antimony found at Redkin (Virchow, *Verhandlungen der berliner anthr. Ges.*, 1884, 125, 1887, 560).

<sup>14</sup> Forrer, *Cahiers d'Archéologie et d'Histoire d'Alsace*, 1927, 54.

<sup>15</sup> An ingot from Azay-le-Rideau, said to belong to the Late Bronze Age (Dubreuil-Chambardel, *La Touraine préhistorique*); a lump from Château d'Amboise, a site which yielded both a Middle Bronze Age hoard and iron slag (Gabeau, *Bulletin de la Société archéologique de Touraine*, xi, 114).

<sup>16</sup> Montelius, *Chronologie der ältesten Bronzezeit*.

<sup>17</sup> Cp. the Early Iron Age slag from Chun Castle (Leeds, *Archæologia*, lxxvi, 205).

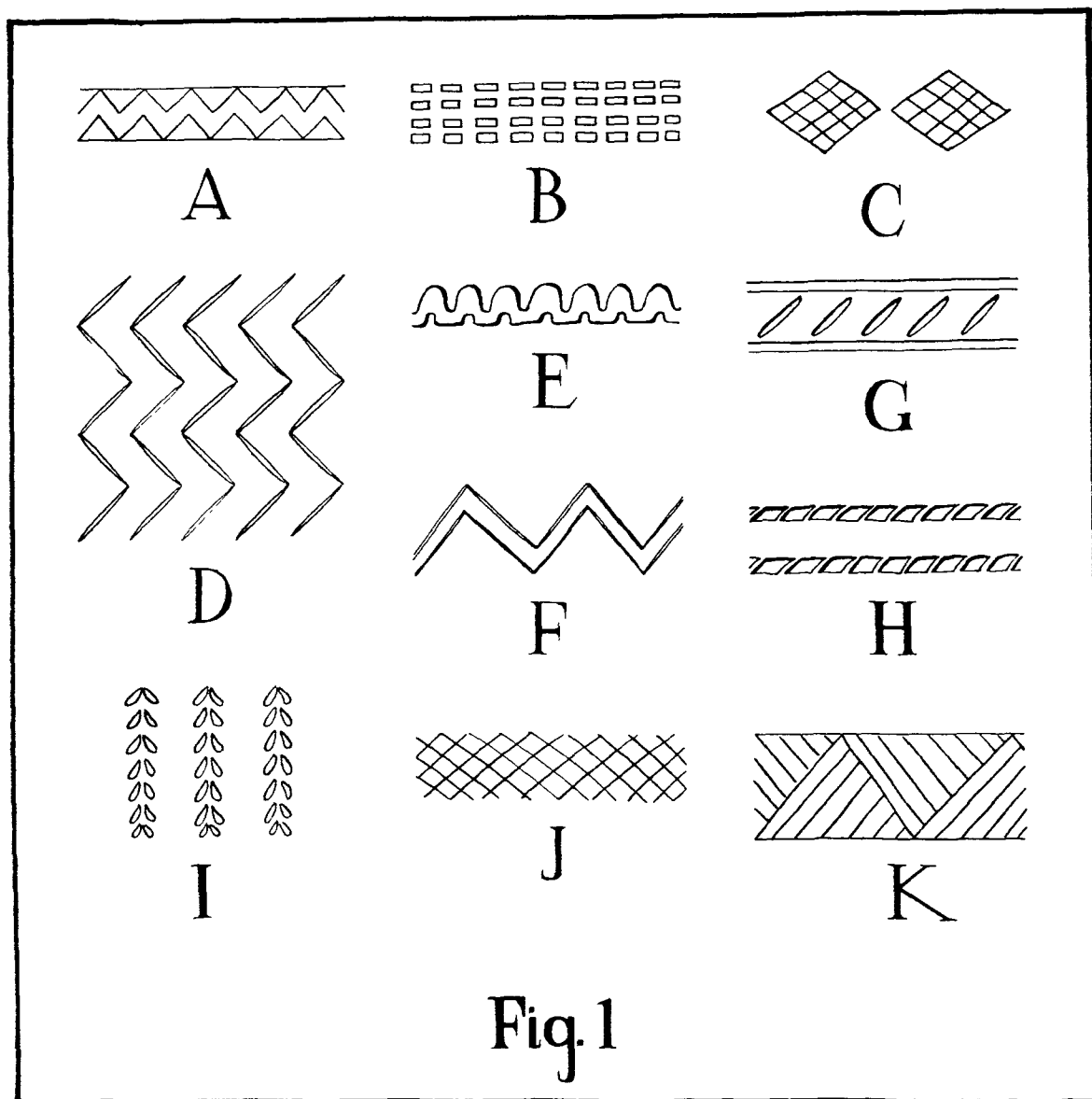


Fig. 1

## ORNAMENTAL MOTIFS FROM BANTU POTTERY.

- A. Incised gourd from grave near Marandellas, S. Rhodesia. (Cf. Burchell and Reid Moir, Figs. 1 and 2.)  
 B. Potsherd from Aasvogelskop, near Johannesburg, Transvaal. (Cf. B. and R. M., Figs. 5 and 6.)  
 C. Incised gourd from cave near Hendriksdal, Transvaal. (Cf. B. and R. M., Figs. 9 and 10.)  
 D. Potsherd from cave in the Waterberg, Transvaal. (Cf. B. and R. M., Figs. 13 and 14, 17 and 18.)  
 E. Potsherd from the Magaliesberg, Transvaal. (Cf. B. and R. M., Figs. 15 and 16.)  
 F. Potsherd from Heilbron, Orange Free State, after Laidler, *Ti. R. Soc. S. Africa*, 1935. (Cf. B. and R. M., Figs. 19 and 20.)  
 G. Potshered from Messina, Transvaal. (Cf. B. and R. M., Figs. 29 and 30.)  
 H. Potsherd from the Magaliesberg, Transvaal. (Cf. B. and R. M., Figs. 33 and 34.)  
 I. Potsherd from Heilbron, Orange Free State, after Laidler, 1935. (Cf. B. and R. M., Figs. 27 and 28, 41 and 42.)  
 J. Potsherd from Klein Letaba, Transvaal. (Cf. B. and R. M., Figs. 43 and 44.)  
 K. Potsherd from Great Zimbabwe, S. Rhodesia, after Caton-Thompson, *Zimbabwe Culture*, 1931. (Cf. B. and R. M., Figs. 35 and 36, 45 and 46.)

Velem St. Vid. Unfortunately, however, it is too brittle for hard use, so Velem itself had to import tin for tools.

Velem St. Vid is interesting for what it attempted rather than for what it accomplished. Its people were skilled metallurgists and merchants. In the later prehistoric period Noricum was inhabited by a population of similar abilities. Near Salzburg there were copper and salt miners. One of the principal industries of Gurina was debasing copper with lead or zinc in order to sell it to the Italians. At a slightly later date there were discovered the gold and iron mines which excited the cupidity of the Romans.<sup>18</sup>

O. DAVIES.

### Technology.

### Wells.

**Ornamental Motifs.** By L. H. Wells. M.Sc., Department of Anatomy, University of the Witwatersrand.

**92** In a recent article (MAN, 1935, 25) J. T. Burchell and J. Reid Moir have drawn attention to the precise similarity of some ornamental motifs common in Upper Palæolithic and Bronze Age times. At the conclusion of their paper the authors observe: "Similar resemblances may be present in the ornamental motifs of other cultures." The object of this note is to point out the large number of resemblances furnished by the motifs of recent South African Bantu ornament.

Fig. 1 represents a series of motifs taken from decorated pottery vessels and gourds of Bantu origin and comparatively recent date. Each of these is closely paralleled in Burchell's and Reid Moir's two series of motifs, Upper Palæolithic and Bronze Age. The numbers of the corresponding motifs in Burchell's and Reid Moir's series are given in the text to the figure.

Most of these motifs have been drawn from specimens in the Anatomical and Anthropological Museum of the Medical School, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. The remainder are taken from the recent publications of Caton-Thompson (*Zimbabwe Culture*, Oxford University Press, 1931), and Laidler (*The Archaeology of Certain Prehistoric Settlements in the Heilbron Area*, Trans. Roy. Soc. S. Africa, XXIII, 1935).

L. H. WELLS.

## ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS.

**Ethnogenics—the Science of Anthropology.** Summary of a Communication presented by Captain G. Pitt-Rivers, 14th May, 1935.

**93** Anthropology cannot be looked upon as a science until its methodology has been established. The obscurity and abuse of terms commonly used in anthropology have hindered any systematization or classification of the subject. Terminological and methodological confusion are well illustrated in the titles of the Chairs and Lectureships in the English Universities in which anthropological subjects are taught.

Whereas the need for a scientific anthropology must rely on a recognition of the scope of its application, an applied anthropology cannot come into being without a methodology. If we define as 'Ethnogenics' the study of human history in terms of changing Race-Population-Culture, there emerges the conception of Race-Population-Culture as tripartite aspects of Man in time, conditioning and being conditioned by his environment—the conception of Race in Evolution.

The applications of 'ethnogenic' research embrace the study of two sets of factors, physical and cultural, but in the practical solution of particular problems these cannot well be divided.

Selected problems illustrate both the method of approach and the application of research in the solution of problems important from the point of view of national well-being.

Applied Cultural Anthropology has been largely devoted to (a) problems arising out of the administration of barbarian or subject peoples under the control of European and advanced civilizations, commonly referred to as the 'native question'; and (b) sociological problems arising out of the groupings, social, political, economic and religious of a modern industrial nation. The opposed but related aspects of these problems are viewed as (a) the factors of social integration and cohesion, and (b) the clash of cultures and social disintegration.

Applied Human Biology analyses the factors controlling the change, increase, decline and

<sup>18</sup> Polybius (*Strabo*, 208); Horace, *Epod.*, xvii, 71.

substitution of types in the population and races of the world. These studies make use of the data of genetics and cognate studies in physiology, pathology and factors influencing mortality, natality, in-breeding and out-breeding, race mixture, mating, fertility and sterility.

The establishment of a scientific anthropology leads to a synthetic advance establishing a new human ecology. Anthropology embraces the study of Man, of the races of Mankind, of his cultural achievements and their relation to his environment. Anthropological research is ethnogenic research: this is the study of Race-population change. Theological obscurantism and the 'human soul' theory were and still are the most active hindrances to a scientific anthropology.

After a review of the developments in the conception of Race from Quatrefages to Keith, Race is defined as "a biological group or stock possessing in common an undetermined number of associated "genetical characteristics by which it may be distinguished from other groups, and by which its "descendants will be distinguished under conditions of continuous segregation—i.e., so long as the "stock is preserved against internal dilution."

**The Rengma Nagas—A Split Tribe.** *Summary of a communication presented by J. P. Mills, Esq., M.A., I.C.S., 28th May, 1935.*

**94** At a date which Naga tradition estimates at 400 years ago and which is certainly very distant, the Eastern Rengmas split off from the main, or Western, body and migrated eastwards. The powerful Sema and Angami tribes closed in behind them and there has been no communication of any kind between the migrants and the parent stock till the last ten years. The Eastern Rengmas now form a small and extremely conservative community of three villages. The differences between them and the parent stock make a particularly interesting study, which has occupied my spare time for four years. In language there is still little divergence, the two sections being able to understand each other without difficulty. In dress there are great differences, Eastern Rengma men still going naked. They have also retained the old buffalo culture, while the Western Rengmas have adopted the newer bison culture. In this and the architecture of their bachelor's barracks the Eastern Rengmas remind one of the old Konyak stock. A curious fact is that no single clan name is common to the two sections of the tribe. The Eastern Rengmas set up no memorial stones, but the Western Rengmas do. The spirit world of the latter, too, is a far more complex one. The Eastern Rengmas are an almost unique example of an archaic Naga tribe. J. P. MILLS.

## PROCEEDINGS OF OTHER SOCIETIES.

**International Congress of Orientalists: Nineteenth Session, Rome, 23rd-29th September, 1935.**

**95** According to the decision taken on the 12th September, 1931, in the last meeting of the XVIIIth International Congress of Orientalists at Leyden, the XIXth Congress will take place in Italy. A committee has been formed in Rome to organize it, and it has been decided that the meetings will be held in Rome (where the XIIth Congress already assembled in 1899) from the 23rd to the 29th September, 1935-XIII.

The Committee has issued its first communication to Orientalists and to the Oriental Societies inviting their collaboration for the full success of the Congress. The formal invitation to the Congress will be sent before long.

The Secretary of the Congress is Dr. Vittore Pisani, Scuola Orientale della R. Università di Roma, Via degli Staderari, 19.

**International Congress of the History of Religions: Sixth Session, to be held at Brussels, 16-20 September 1935.**

**96** This congress is organized by representatives of the universities of Brussels, Ghent, Liège and Louvain, with the official approval of the Belgian Government and under the patronage of the diplomatic representatives of many countries.

The President of the Organizing Committee is

M. Franz Cumont, and the general secretary is Prof. Henri Gregoire, of the University of Brussels.

The constitution of the congress is that of the Fifth Session held at Lund in 1929. There will be sections for I. Methodology; II. Religions of primitive peoples, and Folklore; III. Egypt and Ancient East; IV. Greeks & Romans; V. Germans, Celts, and Slavs; VI. Iran, India, and the Far East; VII. Islam; VIII. Judaism and Christianity.

The members' subscription is 50 francs, and should be sent to Prof. G. Van Langenhove, 54, rue Ducale, Bruxelles.

Discussions will be exclusively scientific, and restricted to purely historical inquiries. Communications may only be presented by their authors in person, who must submit a summary not exceeding 600 words.

Correspondence should be addressed to Prof. V. Larock, 17A, Avenue de la Toison d'Or, Bruxelles.

**Burlington Fine Arts Club: Exhibition of the Art of Primitive Peoples.**

**97** This year, the Summer Exhibition of the Burlington Fine Arts Club is arranged on a broad ethnographical basis. On a former occasion

in 1920, they held an exhibition of indigenous American art, but on this occasion a far less archæological and far more 'primitive' character forms the basis for their exhibition. Drawing partly from large private collections and from museums it has been possible to get together a very fine collection of Polynesian and Melanesian material, which includes a selection of the material collected recently by Mr. Bateson in the Sepik River. Africa is mainly represented by the familiar Kasai River woodcraft, mostly from the Bushongo, and by very fine cire-perdue bronze castings from Benin. A particularly fine pair of figures of Portuguese cross-bow men with equipment are probably the most interesting African exhibits,

though from a purely ethnographical point of view they are rivalled by a series of bows for drills from the western Eskimo with incised ornament showing caribou, whale and walrus hunting scenes, shamans wearing 'thunderbird' masks, and one showing caribou skins stretched out to dry, and probably used as a tally.

An exhibition of this kind, arranged as it is from the 'artistic' point of view, and in which certain specimens are shown out of their context, has certain disadvantages as compared with a museum. On the other hand there is a great advantage in seeing the 'picked' specimens arranged without overcrowding, an almost universal but unavoidable sin in museums.

## REVIEWS.

**European Civilization : Its Origin and Development: Vol. I, Prehistoric Man and earliest known Societies, London : Milford (Oxford University Press), 1934. Price 25s. 98**

This unwieldy volume, juxtaposing rather than combining contributions by six authors, is an attempt to summarize prehistory and history down to Hellenistic times. Superficially, it suggests a compressed Oxford version of the Cambridge Ancient History; in fact, it invokes the aid of two contributors to the latter and, like it, agrees that European history began in the Orient. But it is in no sense an Oxford variant on the monumental work so happily edited by Professor Bury, but a collection of uncoordinated essays of very uneven quality. Its precious space is wasted by unnecessary duplications. Myres and Gomme both discuss prehistoric Ægean civilization. Jean and Peet alike summarize Egyptian history, while Myres has added a third version of the Hyksos episode. Jean's sketch of the history of Israel rationalizes and contradicts that of Gruenthaner.

Perhaps a common philosophy was intended to unify this volume and the six threatened sequels. The first section, entitled "Primitive Man : a brief critical examination of the subject and a systematic statement based on demonstrated facts," from the pen of Pater W. Schmidt, does, in fact, foreshadow a point of view which might have been developed in subsequent sections. It opens with a vigorous attack on evolutionism in all its forms and a brief but lucid account of the 'historical method' in anthropology. The latter exposition is welcome, but the tacit assumption that the *Kulturkreislehre* of Graebner is the sole 'historical method' may lead the unwary to imagine that Kroeber, Sapir and Elliot Smith are adherents of that school. The 'demonstrated facts' yield the familiar picture of the life of men in primitive innocence—monotheistic, monogamous, peaceable, decently clad. We expect next an account of man's fall, of the steady degradation of morality with the advance of pre-Christian material culture, such as Father Schmidt himself has given elsewhere. Instead, the development of material culture is left to Professor

Myres. His treatment is certainly historical: he insists at the outset that civilization is cumulative and does not suggest, for instance, that vase-painting arose independently in the Ukraine, Iran and Ho-nan as a result of similar environments. But his contribution does not fit into the framework of the *Kulturkreislehre*, indicated in Section I. In the restricted space of 96 pages, he gives a marvellously vivid picture of a multiplicity of human groups, reacting to, and upon, their several environments and borrowing ideas and inventions from one another. The implication that an 'Azilian culture' was still surviving in eastern England in 'Early Bronze Age' times will doubtless be corrected by Dr. Wheeler in Vol. II. The same author supplements this Section II by a fresh discussion of the Indo-European problem in Section III (66 pages). The Baltic hypothesis is successfully disposed of, and a solution offered which the reviewer would like to accept. In Europe the battle-axe cultures can most easily be regarded as the material counterparts of Indo-European languages, and their cradle can best be located on the Eurasian plain—the Northern Flatland—in East rather than in Central Europe. But concrete archæological links, either with Greece or with India and Iran, are still lacking. Even Myres' ingenious suggestion that the battle-axes from Troy belonged to the Indo-European Hittites who would have sacked Troy II is not easily reconcilable with the stratigraphy of Alishar Hüyük or with the axes from Thermi and Yortan. And why was the shaft-hole axe abandoned during the European Bronze Age outside Hungary, and ousted there by the socketed celt?

In Section II Myres had revealed the significance of those great discoveries and inventions of the prehistoric East—agriculture, domestic animals, metal, the wheeled car—that alone made European or any other civilization possible, and in a pregnant sentence indicated the potentialities of the Sumerian temple-city. In later sections of a history of civilization, we expect an account of the contributions of historic Egypt and Babylonia to the cultural heritage of Europe; of the genesis of the calendar, of systems of writing, of mathematics, surgery and astronomy;

the publications and discoveries of the last ten years have afforded abundant material for a fresh appreciation of Oriental science. But in Section IV, Jean, in 200 pages on 'The East,' is too much pre-occupied with dynastic wars even to mention Babylonian mathematics or to utilize the Fara texts for an elucidation of Sumerian economics. Even the late Professor Peet, in his 60 pages on Ancient Egypt, can only just touch upon the calendar, and dismisses the Rhind and Edwin Smith Papyri with the barest mention. And so the student of civilization will turn from the Orient to Greece without the least inkling that, for instance, the Babylonians had created a system of notation with place value, and so at last mastered fractions! For, after Peet's brief section on Egypt, follow 396 pages, headed 'The World of the Old Testament and its Historicity.' In these, Michael J. Gruen-thauer, Professor at St. Louis University, summarizes (with slight rationalizations and occasional disparaging references to cuneiform documents) the Old Testament, providing the most valuable document that the volume contains for anthropology—at St. Louis University.

V. GORDON CHILDE.

**Our Primitive Contemporaries.** By George Peter Murdock. New York, Macmillan, 1934. 614 pp., frontispiece and 117 figures. Price 14s.

The author summarizes information about the environment, social and personal life of eight selected groups in the Americas—Polar Eskimo, Haida, Crows, Iroquois, Hopi, Witotos, Aztecs and Incas, and of ten groups elsewhere—Tasmanians, Aranda of Central Australia, Samoans, Semang, Todas, Ainu, Kazaks, Nama, Ganda and Dahomeans. Interpretative theory is avoided as far as possible, not without a little danger at times, as when the author implies that he takes for granted the complete independence of the evolution of Maya-Aztec cultures apart from Old World or Pacific influences. Many, who cannot accept some current hypotheses of diffusion of culture to America, nevertheless feel that the assumption of independent evolution in America is a tremendous one. The author's general method is to sketch the physical environment (and here one could wish for more detail as regards relations of the cycle of activities of the people to environmental conditions) and then to discuss methods and implements of the food quest, defence and offence, as well as subjects like clothing, shelter, handicrafts, leadership, beliefs, and especially the cardinal points of life such as birth, initiation, marriage and death. Only brief mention is made of matters relating to physical characters, and one feels that in the case of the Nama Hottentots the references could have been improved from a consideration of the views of Dr. Broom (*J.R.A.I.*, Vol. LIII, 1923, pp. 132-149) and of Dr. Leakey on African types. These are, however, small points that do not affect the scheme of a book which should be of considerable value to university students as well as to some general readers: though the latter, and perhaps the former, would like some interpretative discussion to help to bring out the interest. The illustrations, often well chosen, are sometimes indifferently reproduced. One hopes that the quite legitimate restriction of this book to the consideration of the non-literate peoples will not be quoted as another indication of a too widespread tendency among anthropologists to avoid a

consideration, from their points of view, of mankind as a whole; the literate and industrialized peoples, anarchic, autarchic and so on, as well as the lowlier cultures, some of which we too readily call primitive.

H. J. F.

**Körperform und sportliche Leistung jugendlicher Körpermasse, sportliche Leistungen und deren korrelative Abhängigkeit bei 3319 Schülern Münchener höheren Lehranstalten.**

**100** Von Dr. Emil Breitinger, Selbstverlag des Verfassers, München, 1934. 111 pp. Price 3 R.M.

Little need be added to the title of this well-arranged study to convey an exact idea of its contents. The data, collected in 1930 and 1931, relate to scholars between the ages of 10 and 20. The first part deals with eight body measurements, the second with athletic performances (running, jumping, throwing and 'chinning'), and the third with the association of the characters of the two kinds. The treatment of the material is entirely statistical. The subjects falling in a particular age group of six months (10-10½ years, 10½-11, and so on) are taken as a separate sample and for each of these samples means, measures of variability and correlations between certain selected pairs of characters are given. 'Growth curves' and the distributions for each age group are also provided. It is said in the introduction that half-yearly periods were chosen because it had been previously shown that a sufficiently close approach to linear regression is found within such ranges to justify the use of the product-moment coefficient of correlation, an assumption which could not be justified, of course, if all the individuals from 10 to 20 years of age were treated as a single sample. The narrowing of the age group used will probably effect the purpose referred to quite satisfactorily, but the fact that within each half-yearly period there may still be a substantial correlation between the characters and age cannot be overlooked. No correlations with age are given in this study, and it is impossible to estimate how far the implied assumption that the age factor does not affect the intra-group constants to an appreciable extent can be justified. The fact that this question is not adequately investigated lessens the value of the analysis to some extent, but this memoir is, nevertheless, a valuable record. Many of the correlations found between body measurements and the athletic performances are of a lower order than would have been anticipated. Comparisons are made with the results of other similar inquiries. The labour of taking and reducing the measurements must have been very considerable, but the conclusions might have been of appreciably greater interest and importance if a few physiological tests had been taken, so that their association with the other characters could have been determined.

G. M. MORANT

**MISCELLANEOUS.**

**A History of Anthropology.** By A. C. Haddon. (*Thinkers' Library.*) London: C. A. Watts, 1934. **101** 6½ × 4. 146 pp., portraits, illustrations, bibliography. 1s.

This is a re-issue of a well-known little book, and one notes firstly how the author keeps abreast of scientific movements, some of which may have been born since he, nominally, retired; secondly, how his ingenuity allows him to give an account of scientific developments without telling much, if anything, of his own part in these developments; and thirdly how, very regrettably, certain controversial items that sparked in an earlier edition have been expunged from this one. One looks forward to another History of Anthropology that shall

have a good deal in it about the life work of A. C. Haddon. The conclusion of the book is an argument against excessive specialization in anthropology and it comes with

special force from one who, while specializing as the occasion demanded, has all along maintained the widest point of view.  
H. J. F.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### Bride Price in Albania.

SIR.—Some notes of my own observations in Albania may be of interest as an addition to Mrs. Hasluck's comprehensive article (MAN, 1933, 203). They date from 1908, when the mountain tribes had been very little influenced by the outer world. Throughout the northern tribe groups (Maltsia e madhe, Pulati, Dukagini and Mirdita) wives were obtainable by purchase only. The women of the tribe were the tribesmen's property, and as saleable as an ox, an ass, or a rifle.

My first experience was at the house of a well-to-do Catholic of Hoti. He pointed to a swaddled babe in a cradle and said, with pride, that he had just sold her and received about £4 (= 59 Austrian florins) and would have the balance when he handed her over. His price for a girl was 20 napoleons at least. Some would sell a girl for 16 naps: he called that giving her away. He would not send the girl away till she was sixteen. Some did at twelve or thirteen, but it was not healthy. Nor would he let a youth have a wife before eighteen, unless the house needed another woman to do the work. Then a boy of fifteen or sixteen might be married. But it was better not.

I met two men once who looked like brothers. They were father and son. The father was thirty and the son fifteen. The father said that when just fifteen he had been married to a woman of twenty-eight. Now she was quite old, and he could not get rid of her.

My old guide observed that the Church had now forbidden priests to marry girls against their will, and forbade the sale of infants. Our host was contemptuous. Unless arranged early, suitable alliances could not be found. Women could and should have no voice in the matter.

Infant sales were so common up-country that, unless a baby were bought in good time, it was impossible to find any wife but a widow. The Bariaktar of Nikaj lamented to me that his youngest son, though twenty-five, was unmarried. He had bought wives for the four elder ones when they were born, but had put off doing so for the youngest. Now all the daughters of good families are born betrothed. This was quite true, as 'I will buy the next girl you have' was a not uncommon bargain. He said he must have 'good blood' and did not mind paying a bit more for a woman of good stock. A woman of bad stock caused endless trouble. He was looking for a suitable widow. The mountain children knew all about sales. A cheeky boy of Shala said to me: "You have bought the girls a goat. Now you must buy me a wife. I am nearly old enough and they have not bought me one yet." A little girl was crying bitterly. We asked, 'Why?' She said the boys had told her that she was sold to an old man, who would beat her every day and make her work very hard. And as the boys continued to shout this at her, she could not be consoled. Even widows were not easily obtainable, for two reasons. If a widow had children, she and the children belonged to the tribe and she had to stay and rear them and she also became the levirate wife of her late husband's next male relative or, if he did not want her, of another in the house. An unmarried man could thus get a wife without paying for her, and the tribesmen stuck to the custom in spite of the thunders of the Church. The man sometimes had a lawful wife already,

102

but this did not prevent his taking his sister-in-law. I heard of one man who had taken on his uncle's widow and his sister-in-law, and then proposed to marry the girl who had been sold him as a child. But the Church intervened.

If the widow were young, and had been married but a short time before her husband was shot, and had not yet borne a child, she was regarded as eligible. One reason for this custom, I think, was to enable her to have one. I never got anyone to admit that such a child would rank as child of the deceased. But they shuffled and did not deny it.

In one case the priest had excommunicated a household of some forty persons because a son was cohabiting with the widow of his elder brother who had been shot recently, shortly after marriage. It was a strange scene. The whole family begged the Franciscan to remove the ban. They offered candles for the Church, beeswax, corn, sheep. He was obdurate. The woman must be sent back to her family. By aid of my old guide, Marko, I got the young man aside and asked why he had done this. He said very earnestly that his honour (*nder*) made him. It was the Canon (the Mountain Law). It would be dishonourable to refuse to live with her. They all dreaded the excommunication, but honour (*nder*) must come first. At last it was agreed he should live one year with her. Then he would part with her and marry the girl who had been bought for him. The year presumably was to give time for the birth of a child?

A childless widow was often sent back to her home as no good. I learned that in old days marriage did not take place till it was certain the girl was pregnant. Sometimes not until she had borne a son. The birth of a girl was always considered a misfortune. Very little price could be got for a widow believed to be sterile. She went back to her tribe, and the head of the house sold her for what he could get: an old-fashioned rifle in one case. But I heard of a young man who sold his aunt three times, and was thought to have done rather well out of her.

They had no mealy-mouthed ideas about bride wealth. *Kam blé* ('I have bought') applied to women and other animals. Neither youth nor maid had any voice in the transaction. The elders on either side drove the bargain for purely political purposes—to make a strong alliance with another tribe: for they are strictly exogamous. That the price can be regarded as compensation for the loss of the girl's services is untenable, for until lately the girl was handed over at twelve or thirteen (as soon as puberty showed, but cohabitation was sometimes deferred), and till then she was chiefly occupied spinning and knitting for her own outfit. It might perhaps be regarded as compensation for the outfit, but was never so spoken of.

An odd psychological feature of these arranged marriages was that, whereas the girls not infrequently resisted strenuously and refused to go to their husbands, I never heard of a case where the young man had refused the bride bought for him. In answer to many inquiries, I always received the answer: "But why should I? God made all women alike."

A girl could escape by swearing perpetual virginity before twelve conjurors (in the church, if Christian, and in the mosque, if Moslem), but only after very severe



measures had been taken to compel her—tying up, beating and starving. For a family to refuse to surrender a girl, even if the bridegroom had grown up to be a thorough bad lot, entailed a blood feud.

A 'romantic marriage' was a thing unknown. All were 'political': for the benefit of the tribe rather than for the parties most concerned.

Till the day before yesterday, almost all Royal marriages were arranged on exactly the same lines and the bride's feelings no more considered than in the Albanian mountains. Queen Charlotte was betrothed to George III when she was eleven. The Grand Duchess Marie of Russia, in her recently published reminiscences, tells how her marriage with a Prince of Sweden was arranged without their having met, and carried out in spite of her fears. She was helpless, and the unsuitable match was later annulled.

I put up for the night in a Mirdite house. A girl crouched like a wild cat in a far corner. They did not speak to her, but threw her some food at supper. The father told us with fury that she had refused to go to the house to which he had sold her. The enlightened and civilized Abbot of the Mirdites had intervened and had persuaded the insulted bridegroom to swear not to take blood-vengeance and to return the money that had been paid. He stated, too, that either party was free to marry another and the girl need not swear virginity. The father was angry beyond words. But he dared not disobey the Abbot. "A girl," said he, repeatedly, "marries for the good of her house, not for herself. My honour is blackened. Where shall I find another such match?"

Primitive savagery? But how many students of anthropology know that girls were sold thus as infants and forcibly married as late at least as the second half of the seventeenth century in England? A very notable case is that of Mary Davies, the Pimlico heiress, after whom Davies Street, W.1. is named. She was sold twice before she was twelve. First for £5,000 to Lord Berkeley of Stratton, for his son Charles, aged eleven. Mary was seven. Charles died of small-pox and Lord Berkeley, having no use for Mary, demanded his money back. But Mary's relatives had spent the lot and also fattened on the revenues of her estates. They were hard put to it, and hawked Mary around. There were several offers. They accepted that of Sir Thomas Grosvenor. After much bargaining he repaid the £5,000 to Lord Berkeley and £1,500 as interest on it. He released Mary's relatives from giving an account of what they had done with her revenues. He settled a life annuity of £50 on the aunt who had had charge of her, and Mary, aged thirteen, was married at St. Margaret's, Westminster, to Sir Thomas Grosvenor, aged twenty-one, on 8th October, 1677. And thus the huge London estates of the Dukes of Westminster came into being.

Save that the sums are far greater, the marriage differs in no way from those of the Albanian tribesmen. In Mary's case it ended disastrously. So far as 'savage customs' go, we have lived in very much of a glass-house till just the other day, and can't afford stone throwing. The tribesmen looked with contempt upon the townsmen who 'sold themselves' for a dowry. The marriages in Scutari were just as much arranged by the elders as those of the mountains. But the bride's family found the money (as still in France, Italy and other lands). In Albania I think the custom is a foreign one introduced from without. For centuries the towns along the coast were under foreign influence—largely Venetian—and had a considerable foreign population, whereas up in the mountains the Canon of the Mountains and the ancient customs prevailed. But in Scutari the bridegroom gave the bride a necklace made of silvergilt

filagree from which hung three large gilt coins (*dupa*), and this probably was a reminiscence of the bride price.

Similarly, in Montenegro—where the marriages, too, were arranged by the elders—an apple or orange with a gold coin stuck into it was given by the bridegroom's people—a symbolic payment. It had degenerated into an orange without a coin when I was there!

M. E. DURHAM.

## INDIA.

### An Indian Rite to protect Cattle.

103

SIR.—The following account of a local custom which I have been able to verify through the assistance of my Geological Assistant Superintendent, Dr. Mahadevan, is, I think, worth placing on record.

It is a local custom at certain villages once a year, when the full moon falls on a Sunday, to do a *puja* to ward off evil spirits from pestering cattle. This year at Sirwar, a big village halfway between Raichur and Lingsugur, the day chosen was the Hindu month of Pushya Masam, February 3rd, 1935. I must mention that cattle disease had broken out at Ramdrug village 10 miles to the north of Sirwar. In the centre of the entrance gate of nearly all Indian villages is fixed an uncarved sacred stone. On the day of the *puja* the Begar or Wadder, both out-castes, dig a pit alongside this stone, deep enough to bury a pig up to its neck. About 7 a.m. one man of the washerman's caste (*dhobie*) carries a big earthen *chatti* filled with milk, but having a small hole in the bottom. He is followed by four others, one man of the Kurubar, or shepherd caste, one an Earth Wadder, one man of Panchala caste, either a goldsmith, blacksmith, carpenter, stone mason, or stone image carver—who acts as the priest, or *pujari*, and one ryot, or field-owner. These five form a procession and march round the village bounds (*gramapradakshinam*), the washerman with the *chatti* full of milk leading, allowing the milk to escape through the hole and sprinkling the route. If evil spirits are encountered, which is betokened by the *dhobie* feeling giddy and unwell, a *puja* is made by the Panchala caste-man who breaks a cocoanut and slices a lemon. When the procession is finished, the whole population of the village assemble at the main entrance to the village where the pig (male or female) has been buried.

The Panchala-caste man now does *puja* to the sacred stone by breaking a cocoanut, slicing a lemon and marking the stone with saffron. This takes place about 8 a.m. Then all the cattle belonging to the villagers, milk-kine, bullocks, bulls, and buffaloes—are all driven backwards and forwards through the gateway over the wretched pig's head, which is trodden to pulp. The poor pig sometimes, though severely injured, does not expire till the evening. For two days after the *puja* the pig is left unburied, a loathsome sight, a prey to dogs and flies. On the evening of the third day the dead pig is removed, the hole deepened and the pig, or what is left of it, completely buried alongside the sacred stone.

I believe here we have merely a modification of a human sacrifice. As late as 1923, when I was in Karimnagar District, cattle disease broke out among the cattle of the Lombardys (Indian Gypsies), who had settled down and had started cultivating. The subsequent inquiry proved they stole a child from some village and buried it up to its neck at the entrance to their cattle-pen and drove all their cattle over the poor child's head with the obvious result. What previous or subsequent *puja* was done, I was not able to find out, as the guilty tribe were too frightened and reticent when they got into police custody. But the pig *puja*, above described, so much resembles the

Lombardy human sacrifice, that I cannot but believe that the origin is identical.

LEONARD MUNN, Captain.  
Lingsugur, Raichur, India.

**Female Fertility Figures.** Female fertility figures (*J.R.A.I.*, cf. *J.R.A.I.*, LXIV (1934), pp. 93-100. Pl. viii-xii). (MAN, 1934, 206, 208; 1935, 17, 64. 104 65, 70.)

SIR,—In *J.R.A.I.*, LXIV (1934), pp. 93-100, no mention has been made of female fertility figures, chiefly made of clay, of ancient India, though a large number of this type of female figures have been discovered from the period of the Indus Valley Civilization, c. 3250 B.C.-2750 B.C. (*Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, ed. Sir John Marshall, I, p. 106). Dr. Murray has classified the female fertility figures under three groups, viz. (1) The Universal Mother of Isis type. (2) The Divine Woman or Ishtar type. (3) The Personified Yoni or Baubo type.

At least two female figurines—one at the right extremity of the obverse face of an oblong inscribed sealing from Harappa (*Mohenjo-daro*, I, pl. xii, 12, the illustration on the left) belonging to the 4th or the 3rd millenium B.C., and the other, on a Bhīṭā circular terracotta plaque belonging to the Kushāna or the Gupta age (*Archaeological Survey of India—Annual Report*, 1911-12, p. 75, pl. xxiii, 40) fulfill the main characteristics of the 'Personified Yoni' or 'Baubo' type, and there is a remarkable similarity between these two ancient Indian specimens and some, belonging to this type, in Dr. Murray's article. In the Harappa specimen a nude female figure stands with legs apart and something, which Marshall has taken to be a plant (*Mohenjo-daro*, I, p. 52), issuing from the pudenda. On the Bhīṭā circular terracotta plaque is a nude female figurine with the legs apart in the 'frog' attitude with the sex organ most realistically modelled and most determinately emphasized and having a full-blossomed lotus with petals falling over the shoulders in place of a head. The great similarity between the Harappa figurine and the figurine illustrated by Dr. Murray (pl. x, 22) and between the Bhīṭā figurine and those in pl. x, 17, 18; xi, 27, should be noted.

But there is one striking point that differentiates the Harappa and Bhīṭā figurines from those of the 'Baubo' type; in the Harappa specimen we see the plant-like thing issuing from the pudenda. This fact should lead us to give a divine character to it and therefore to connect it with the 'Divine Woman' or 'Ishtar' type. Secondly, in the Bhīṭā specimen the presence of the lotus, in place of the head, with petals falling over shoulders leads us to connect it also with the 'Divine Woman' or 'Ishtar' type. Marshall is, therefore, not wrong when he tentatively identifies these two figurines with Prthivi or Earth-Goddess. (*Archaeological Survey of India—Annual Report*, 1911-12, p. 75; *Mohenjo-daro*, I, p. 52.)

Therefore these two figurines, though in the Baubo-Phryne attitude, should be taken as belonging to the Divine Woman or Ishtar type and not to the Personified Yoni or Baubo type. C. C. DAS GUPTA.  
University of Calcutta.

#### AFRICA : EAST.

**Branched Iron Stands.** (Cf. MAN, 1934, 188; 1935, 32.)

SIR,—Dr. Richards' letters (MAN, 1935, 32) has set us wondering once more about the Bena tribal heirlooms we described in MAN, 1934, 188. In the case of the Wabena (of Ulanga) the iron objects preserved in the chief's spirit- or relic-house (*mahóngoli*) have only two prongs, and with them are kept a ceremonial axe with a long undulating tang, a very old

sacred drum, the royal Stool, and two spears received with deputations from the enemy in the old fighting days. The branched iron stands are stuck upright in the floor of the house. Except when solemnly carried to the homestead of a new chief, these heirlooms (*vinu vya tambiko*) never leave their shrine and no one outside a small circle of the specially privileged ever sees them. The circle includes the chief (*Mtema*), an official appointed to guard the shrine (*Mzagira wa Tambiko*), and the senior wife of each of them. Sexual abstinence for one to five nights, according to the importance of the occasion and the time available, is required of anyone who is about to enter the shrine, which is held to be inhabited by the spirits of the departed chiefs, to whom on entering the proper greetings and prayers must be addressed.

The guardian of the *mahóngoli* must be related to the royal clan through his mother. He and his family live at the chief's expense, and if he dies leaving young children the *Mtema* is likely to adopt them. Not even the chief may enter the spirit-house without his permission. He has great authority in the tribe in all matters of moment in both religion and politics, and with him finally rests the decision as to when, if ever, a chief shall 'receive the Stool,' i.e., be invested with full powers as priest-king. For years, even till his death maybe, the tribal ruler may remain *Mtema* in name only, a secular chief without the religious authority which makes his claims to power effective. Normally, however, he receives the Stool and its accompanying heirlooms as soon as he has an heir, and once he has been installed as 'chief of the sacrifices' (*Mtema wa Tambiko*), nothing less than some really heinous crime such as sacrilege can deprive him of his high office. Then, as recently happened, he 'becomes dead' and a suitable heir is installed. He may, however, relinquish his secular authority—in the past, of course, that meant military authority—if he is incapable of wielding it properly according to tribal standards, and this actually happened about seventy years ago when the chief, not being a man of war, was persuaded to make over his secular power to his brother, retaining his religious office till his death when his brother assumed that too. Similarly, a chief deposed by the white man continues to fulfil his priestly office and to enjoy the personal influence and authority derived from it.

Unfortunately we are out of reach of libraries, and cannot go to read what Mr. T. Cullen Young has written about the people of the Nkamanga plain, but one is struck by the similarity between that name and Manga, the name of the immigrant ancestor of the Wakinimanga who now rule the Wabena of Ulanga. He is said to have come from the east, eight generations ago and to have married the daughter of a petty chief, begetting a son who eventually ruled over his mother's people. Manga's name, it is said, means 'cave' and there is a legend purporting to show how he came by it, his original name having been *Nguruchawángi* = 'The feet of other people.'

The sacred drum and the pronged iron heirlooms have been handed down from him. The latter have no counterpart in anything found in ordinary use among the Wabena or the neighbouring tribes, nor is the skill of the local smiths equal to the task of making them. Tradition is silent as to their original use and they are simply known as *vinu vya tambiko* 'things of the sacrifices', brought by Manga and belonging to the ancestral spirits. The Wabena do not use bows, and if the branched stands were indeed first made and used as bow-and-arrow stands, it was certainly not among the people who now treasure them.

A full account of these people, including their historical

tradition, their recent history, and all the custom and ritual connected with the chieftainship, the spirit-house and its guardian, may be found in our book, *Ubena of the Rivers*, recently published by Messrs. Allen & Unwin. A. T. AND G. M. CULWICK. Kiberege, Tanganyika Territory.

**Spear-rest and other Tribal Heirlooms.** Cf. MAN, 1934, 188.

**106** SIR.—I was much interested by Mr. and Mrs. Culwick's letter (MAN, 1934, 188) describing tribal heirlooms among the Wabena of the Ulanga Valley, and particularly the iron fork which is illustrated.

There is a very similar object in the possession of the Anuak tribe, which at present inhabits an area within latitudes 6° 45' and 8° 30' N. and longitudes 33° and 35° E., and is divided by the international frontier between the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Abyssinia. The Anuak tribe is believed to have affinities with the Shilluk group of tribes in the Sudan, and so possibly through the Acholi with the Lango of Uganda and the Kavirondo of Kenya. Whatever the relationship, if any, the Anuak have been separated as a distinct tribe for a considerable period, possibly two centuries or even more.

The history of the Anuak Royal House is a long and complicated one, and as it is still under investigation cannot yet be recorded with certainty, but as far as we know at present the story is briefly as follows:—

The founder of the Royal House was one Oshoda, who emerged miraculously out of a lake wearing round his neck a necklace which is called *oshok*. An early investigator recorded a tradition that the founder was a white

ambitions of rival heirs led to a chaos of bloodshed in which the succession was lost to sight.

Oshoda's relics had been passed on by his heirs, many of whom added various objects to the collection, but when the succession broke down, some were lost or destroyed. At present the following are recognized:—

Five necklaces, of which *oshok* is the most important.

Two wooden stools with four legs, each hewn from a single block.

One small drum in which are said to be stored the lower front teeth extracted from royal descendants.

Four spears.

One iron fork (*daquary*).

The veneration accorded to each relic is in proportion to its age, and Oshoda's relics are, of course, the most important. It is a peculiarity that royal descendants must at some time possess the emblems, or at least wear *oshok* and sit on the stools, failing that they and their issue lose their royal status.

These royal emblems have been collected together and are kept at present by a custodian of royal descent, and there are prospects of a revival of the old kingship.

The iron fork had been lost for some years, but was recovered in 1934 and delivered to the custodian. The photograph shows to what use he put it. It is a spear-rest for the spear *oshalla*, although it is said that Oshoda's original spear was lost and the one shown is a substitute known by the same name. The dimensions of the fork are: length overall, 56½ inches; length of prongs, 14 inches. About 4 inches below the division of the fork is a projection 1½ inches long. It will be noticed that there are three brass rings around the neck of the spear to which is attached an iron bell. G. L. ELLIOT SMITH, Akobo Post, Upper Nile Province, Sudan.

**South Africa: Ancient Monuments Act.** Cf. MAN, 1935, 40.

**107** SIR.—In reply to the comments of Sir Charles Peers (MAN, 1935, 40) on the Ancient Monuments Act (1934) of the Union of South Africa, may I be permitted to correct a natural misunderstanding, by pointing out that the permanent staff of the Department of Public Works will be available to assist in the administration of the Act? This Department will be adequately represented on the Commission (which is at present being reconstituted) and so far as the preservation, restoration and maintenance of scheduled monuments are concerned, will, it is hoped, play an increasingly important part in the administration of the Act. As a matter of fact, the Public Works Department has done considerable work in this connection in the past and has important restoration work in hand at the moment; work which is being carried out in the closest harmony with the Monuments Commission. With such Government machinery as we have at our disposal, it was therefore not considered necessary to make special provision for such co-operation.

While it may appear to be a matter of regret that the experience of other Governments was not taken into account, it must be pointed out that those who drafted the Bill for consideration by the House last year went to very considerable trouble to consult all available legislation—both European and Asiatic—that deals with ancient monuments and, with this as a background, did all they could to meet the requirements of many-faceted local conditions.

The Act may not be ideal, but it is undoubtedly the best that could be produced at the present stage of our development. At least it is a fresh departure that lays the foundations for work that augurs well for the future of the anthropological sciences in South Africa.

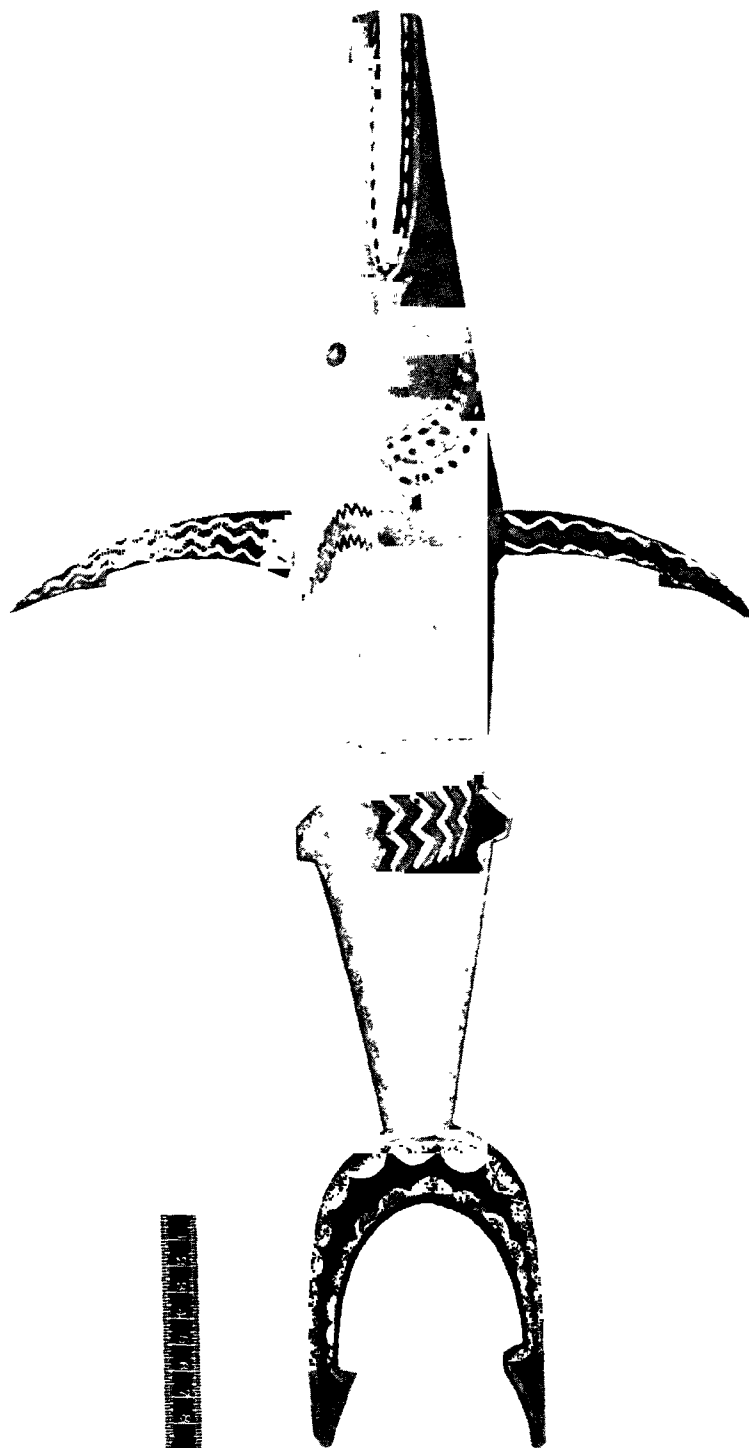
C. VAN RIET LOWE, *Director*.



TWO VIEWS OF FORKED SPEAR-REST (*daquary*).

man, but I have been unable to confirm it. Oshoda married into the tribe (his bride was the chief's daughter) and left a son who succeeded him and to whom he bequeathed the necklace *oshok*, a spear called *oshalla*, and an iron fork called *daquary*. There followed some eleven generations of patrilineal descent which ended with one Gora, who died probably in the middle of last century, as a surviving great grandson is now over seventy. Dissensions followed Gora's death, and the





**HOLLOW WOODEN FIGURE OF A BONITO FISH: SOLOMON ISLANDS.**

*By permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.*

# MAN

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### ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

#### Pacific.

#### With Plate G.

Joyce.

**Forehead Ornaments from the Solomon Islands.** *By T. A. Joyce, M.A., British Museum.*

One of the most charming articles of adornment invented by a primitive people is the forehead ornament worn in the Solomon Islands, consisting of a white shell disc overlaid with a 'fret-work' of turtle-shell (figures 1 and 2). The delicacy of the fretted patterns, cut from so brittle a material, bears witness to a remarkable degree of technical skill on the part of a people who had no sharper tool than a shark's tooth with which to work. Since these forehead ornaments are

108

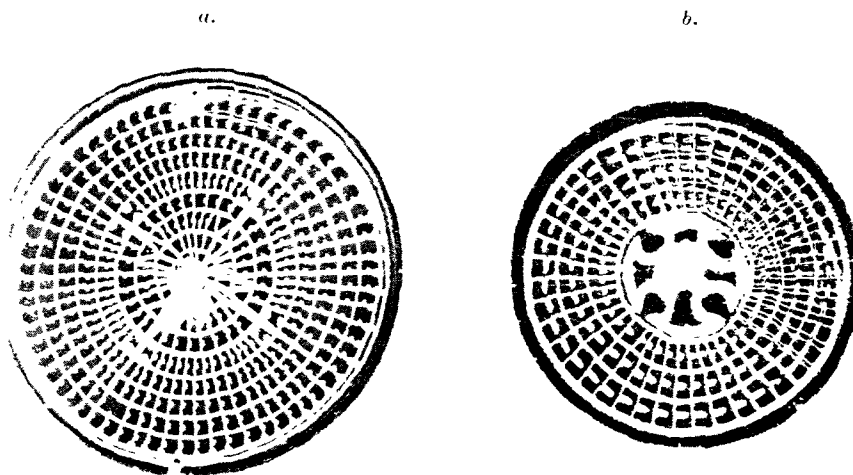


FIG. 1. FOREHEAD ORNAMENTS OF WHITE SHELL OVERLAID WITH TURTLE-SHELL: SOLOMON ISLANDS.

*By permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.*

circular, the design is radial, and an almost consistent element is a series of 'spokes,' with what I may term an 'elbow' in the centre of each. The cutting of this elbow must have been a matter of considerable difficulty: and since no people, primitive or civilized, go out of their way to make a task more difficult, it seems likely that this particular feature must have a definite meaning.

In 1904 the late James Edge-Partington and I published a short article (*MAN*, 1904-86), dealing with certain funerary ornaments and customs in the Solomon Islands, and I quote from that:—  
" Dr. Codrington (*Melanesians*, p. 261) states that on the death of a chief, or of a man much beloved by his son, the body is suspended in his son's house, enclosed, either in a canoe, or in the figure of a sword-fish (*ili*). Favourite children are treated in the same way. The figure of the fish is cemented after the same method as that employed in canoe-building, and then painted, and no smell whatever proceeds from it. . . . Sometimes the corpse is kept in this way for years. . .

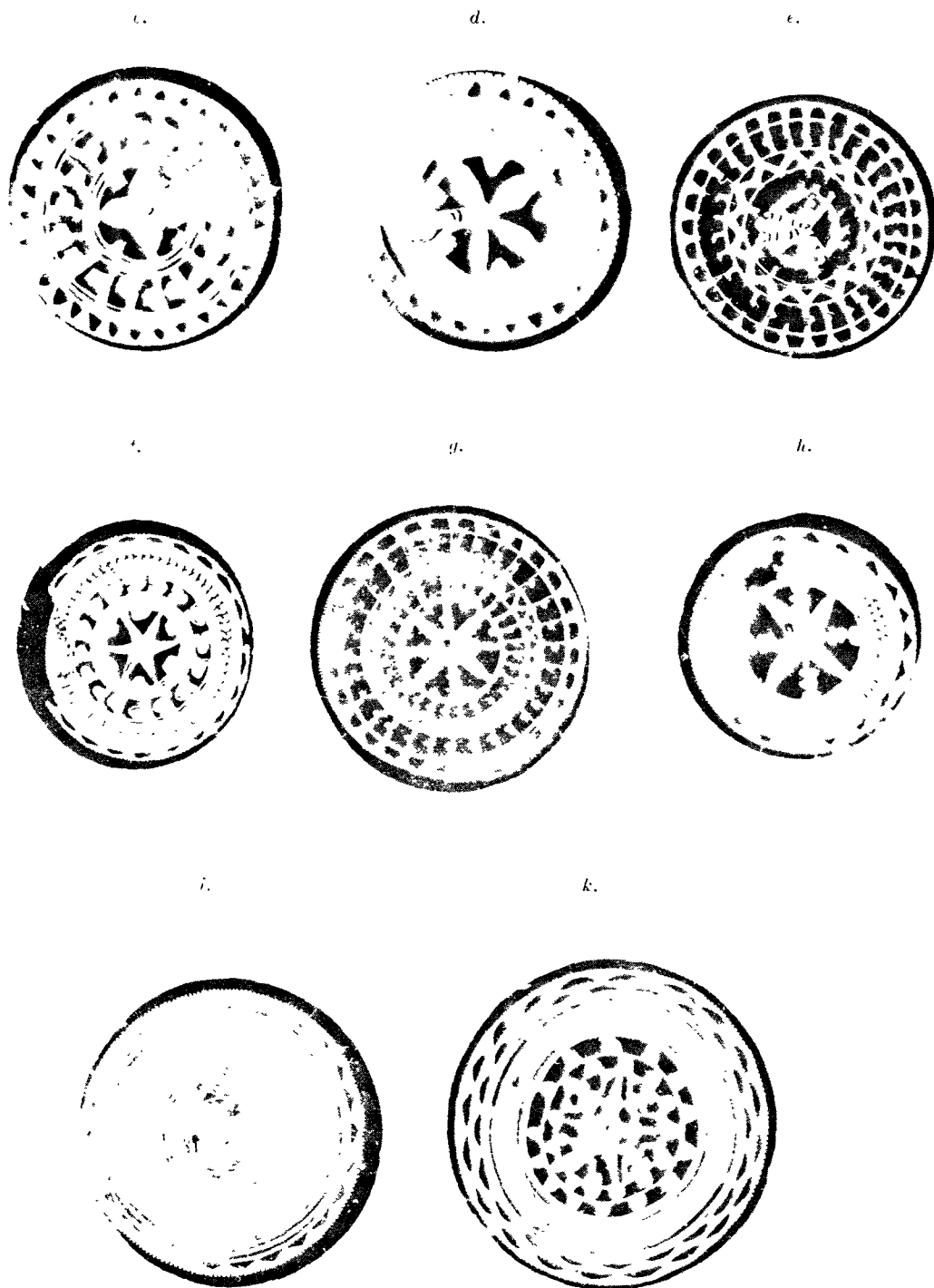


FIG. 2. FOREHEAD ORNAMENTS OF WHITE SHELL OVERLAID WITH TURTLE-SHELL: SOLOMON ISLANDS.  
By permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

FIG. 3. BAMBOO LIME-BOX WITH ENGRAVED ORNAMENT: SAN CRISTOVAL: BRITISH MUSEUM.

FIG. 4. THE ENGRAVED DESIGN, UNROLLED: ON FIG. 3 ARE VISIBLE THE BANDS 2, 1, 7, AND PART OF 6, IN DIVISION B.

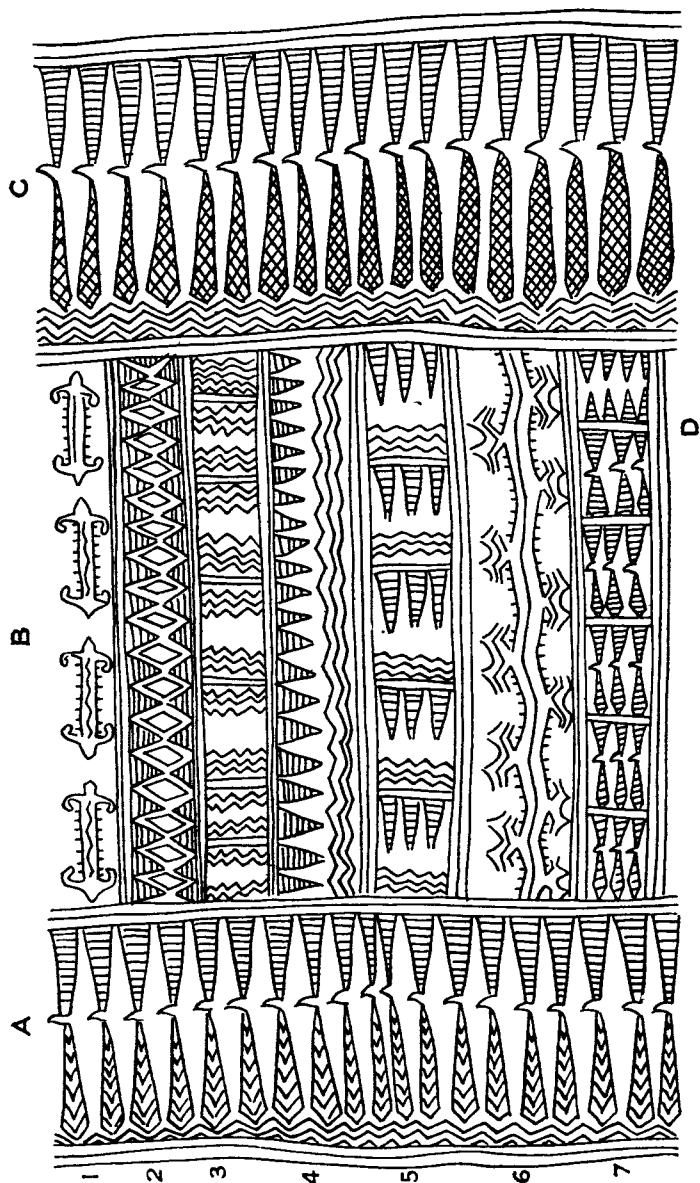


FIG. 4.



FIG. 3.



" waiting for a great funeral feast. When a year of good crops arrives, a man will say 'Now we will take out Father.' The corpse is then taken, if that of a comparatively inferior person, to the common burial grounds, if that of a chief, to the family burying-place. The skull and jaw-bones are taken out, and these are called *mangite*, which are *saka*, i.e., hot with spiritual power. The *mangite* are enclosed in the hollow wooden figure of a bonito fish, and set up in the house or in the *oha* private canoe-house."

In 1904, the British Museum acquired an example of one of these bonito fish (collected by Admiral Davis in Santa Anna), complete with *mangite*, and, in the article from which I have just quoted, it was figured, with the "lid" removed in order to show the skull. It is now figured with the lid closed (Plate G), and complete with its detachable fins. The back-fin of the bonito is one of its most prominent features, and the bonito itself is important in Melanesia as a clan-badge; I hesitate to use that much-abused word 'totem.'

In figure 3 is figured a bamboo lime-box, with engraved ornament, from San Cristoval; and the design, 'unwrapped' is illustrated in figure 4. For purpose of description I have labelled the three main vertical divisions of the pattern, A, B and C, and the transverse bands of division B, from 1 to 7. At the extreme right of B 7, there is a small panel to which I wish to make special reference later, and I have placed the letter D immediately beneath it.

Now, in A and B we have a series of fish, drawn in simple outline, "reserved" on an engraved background, probably representing water. The same design occurs in the small panels in B 7, except in the panel marked D. All these fish, though reduced, artistically, to their lowest dimensions, show a highly developed back fin.

So we have a series of white fish, with the characteristic fin of the bonito, on a shaded ground.

Suppose the pattern is regarded in reverse, as a shaded design on a white ground, we get immediately the *motif* provided by the radial bars, with their "elbow," of the head-ornaments. The design on the lime-box, therefore, appears to provide an explanation of that of the head-ornaments, and constitutes another example of the tendency of life-forms, simplified and repeated, to become geometrical.

This tendency is admirably illustrated by the small right-hand panel in band 7, just over the letter D. Here the artist has omitted the back-fin of the fish, with the result that the design has become a mere series of lozenges, and the life-*motif* has gone right down into geometry. The lozenge appears again in band B 2 in elaborated form.

But this does not end the transmigration of the bonito on this lime-box. If a vertical line were drawn through the fins of the fish in columns A and C, and the right-hand portions only be regarded, it will be seen that the panels in B 4 and 5 represent the noses of the fish. B 4 retains the *dancetté* line which represents the water in A and C; and in B 3 the water appears alone.

In fact the ornamentation of this lime-box, provides an excellent instance of the simplification and modification—including elaboration in geometric form—of a naturalistic design, and probably provides the explanation of the peculiar element which constitutes so constant a feature in the turtle-shell fretwork of the head-ornaments.

T. A. JOYCE.

### Asia : Magic.

Josef.

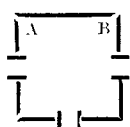
The Demon of Puerperal Sepsis in Wild Ceylon. By Byron Josef, Tuberculosis Hospital, Ragama, Ceylon.

109

The principle underlying this ceremony is the belief that puerperal fever is due to the 'devil' of puerperal sepsis having intercourse with the pregnant woman just before childbirth.

The following measures are therefore taken to obviate this. In the eighth month of pregnancy a clay model of a woman is prepared. This model is cast in the sitting posture and is of good workmanship. The model is complete with virgin breasts and a large vagina. The model is nude, but is gaily decked with wreaths of flowers around the neck, hair and wrists.

A temporary enclosure is constructed with three entrances—as shown in the diagram. The pregnant woman sits at B and the model is placed at A. The ceremony starts at 6 p.m., and continues right through the night. All through the night, the witch doctor (*kapurala*), by beat of drum



and other mystic rites, exhorts the devil of puerperal sepsis to attend. The appearance of the devil is heralded by hysterical manifestations from the pregnant woman. By the side of the clay model are placed various edible village delicacies which serve as additional attractions of the charms of the model. The area around the pregnant woman is bare.

The devil on entry succumbs to the lure of the delicacies and the sex appeal of the clay model, and takes it as his bride. The pregnant woman thereby escapes his attentions and does not contract puerperal sepsis. At dawn the clay image is taken a few hundred yards from the village and a pole about 2 inches in diameter and 6 feet long, representing the penis of the aforesaid devil, is inserted into the vagina of the clay model. This consummates the marriage of the devil of puerperal sepsis and the clay model, and the pregnant woman is now assured of a normal puerperium.

Soap is also taboo, this applies particularly to the scented variety. The use of soap serves as an attraction to devils who afflict the users for the rest of their life. The villagers in these remote jungle areas consequently never use soap and aim at being as dirty as possible. BYRON JOSEF.

### Africa.

Driberg.

#### The 'Best Friend' among the Didinga. By J. H. Driberg.

In a recent publication,<sup>1</sup> Professor Melville J. Herskovits describes the institution of 'the best friend' in Dahomey. This institutionalized form of friendship, which, as he justly observes, is nevertheless not devoid of emotional content, has not hitherto been reported in Africa, but he adds, "it would not be surprising, were a formalization of the relationship of one close friend to another to be found to exist among other peoples of the African continent, as it is found in Dahomey." A note, therefore, on the institution as it occurs among the Didinga may not be out of place, as it may lead to revelations over a wider field.<sup>2</sup>

The best friend is known as *gôna* (pl. *gônoget*), and this particular form of friendship is called *gînothet*. There are two classes of *gônoget*, one associated with their age-grade system, and the other contracted on an analogy with the former. The latter may, for the moment, be excluded.

When an age-set is first admitted to warrior status, its members serve for five years as junior warriors, and then after another rite of transition they become senior warriors for a further term of five years. There are thus always two sets simultaneously in the warrior status, a senior and a junior.

As soon as an age-set is admitted to the status of junior warrior, each one of its members has to find a best friend among the ranks of the senior warriors. The relationship then instituted is of life-long duration, but the fact that it takes its institutionalized form then, when the juniors are approximately eighteen years of age and the seniors twenty-three, does not mean that the two had not been close friends before. Generally they have been, and all it means is that their friendship, by being institutionalized and publicly ratified, acquires a social as well as an emotional value, incurring fresh responsibilities and obligations which are more comprehensive than the terms of a simple friendship between two individuals.

The primary object of this special friendship is military, and is not unreminiscent of the Spartan institution. It is the duty of the senior of the two friends to instruct the junior in all his military exercises and conduct. He assumes complete responsibility for his behaviour in times of crisis, and the junior has to submit to his orders and by his diligence and discipline has to justify the senior's assumption of responsibility. He has to guard the prestige of the senior: he must not 'let him down' in any way, either by neglect or through cowardice, as any failure on his part is interpreted as a reproach and a public condemnation of the senior. The point need not be stressed further, as it is evident that the institution provides the Didinga with a very powerful stimulus to correct military behaviour.

As a sequel to this, it provides the friends with a rigid code of conduct as between themselves. Each must look after the interests of the other, even more rigorously than he would consider his own. They must warn each other of impending danger and sacrifice their lives in each other's defence.

<sup>1</sup> Nancy Cunard, *Negro: an Anthology*, p. 627.

something like the Didinga institution is also to be

<sup>2</sup> There are indications in Hollis, *The Nandi*, that found there.

One betraying his best friend, if that were even a conceivable proposition, or failing to give him his utmost support in time of danger, would be socially outcast. They share all their thoughts, designs and enterprises: there can be nothing kept secret from the best friend. Anything that each has can be demanded by the other and the demand cannot be refused on any pretext, since theoretically all their possessions are held in common. It is not possible for one to ask for too much from the other, as in actual fact he is only asking for something which is just as much his own. The two may be considered then as a legal, social, economic and military unit, and this type of institutional friendship is the strongest bond there is, far stronger than either kinship by blood (or clan) or the in-law relationship, which imposes, next to *gónothet*, the strictest obligations on the two parties.

The second class of best friends may be summarily dismissed. They are an extension of the institution already considered, but outside the system of age-grades. The mutual advantages of best friendship are found to be so great that other friendships of a similar character, but without the same binding force, are contracted in different parts of the country, in order that the parties should everywhere have someone to help them in their enterprises and to share their dangers. These subsidiary friendships, however, do not imply the same degree of obligation, though it would be considered a grave breach of social conduct, were a man to fail his friend in an emergency. But there is not the same intense community of interest, and it is possible, for example, to refuse without incurring ignominy a demand from one of these subsidiary friends.

Leaving the personal aspect of the institution, we also find it a strong socializing force: for it is the one link between the different sets in the age-grade system and converts the system from a discrete concatenation of units to a closely-knit, homogeneous organization. The link is forged as between each member of the two warrior sets and their friendships unite the two sets in a way that nothing else could. Not only this, but as the senior warrior set has contracted similar friendships, when it was itself in the status of junior warrior, and the junior warriors will in their turn be linked in this way to their successors, it becomes obvious that the whole system is closely integrated from top to bottom by the institution of best friend, which thus tends to counteract the exclusive classification of age.

One concluding point should be mentioned. Under the age-grade system the unity of each set is so great that what affects one member affects them all, and any member of a set has to shoulder the responsibilities of his age-mates. Should therefore one of the parties to a best friendship, by indisposition, absence or any other reason, be unable to discharge a specific obligation to his best friend, any member of his age-set may act as his temporary substitute. Conversely, a man may call upon his whole age-set as a unit to come to the assistance of his best friend, and as he can also call on his best friend of the higher or lower degree, together with all the latter's age-mates, it follows that in this way the institution of best friend may—and does—mobilize all the resources of the tribe in time of urgent need.

J. H. DRIBERG.

### Ceylon: Folklore.

Pieris.

The Myth of the 'Naga Meru Ale.' By J. F. Pieris.

**111** Amongst the various forms of love magic that are to be found in Ceylon, one is of particular interest in that it is based on a myth of brother and sister love, and, as far as I was able to ascertain, is the only form of Sinhalese magic which has its origin in a story that suggests incest.

The myth of the 'Naga Meru Ale'<sup>1</sup>, which translated literally, means the yam that killed the younger sister (*naga*—younger sister; *meru*—killed; *ale*—yam) is one that is well known not only to most Sinhalese exponents of magic and sorcery, but also to a few of the better informed villagers outside the ranks of the sorcerers themselves. I do not know whether the magical properties of this yam as a love-engendering agent are known to the Tamil (Hindu) sorcerers of the Jaffna Peninsula in the North of Ceylon, nor if they are known to practising Tamil and Mohammedan sorcerers in the South, but as far as the Sinhalese are concerned, the knowledge never appeared to me to be restricted to any particular area or province.

<sup>1</sup> A somewhat analogous story is to be found in the Trobriand Myth of the 'Sulomwoya' reported by Malinowski in *Sex and Repression in Savage Society*, and also in *The Sexual Life of Savages* in the chapter headed 'Sources of Love Magic.'

Several accounts of the myth, ranging from the most incoherent and fragmentary to the complete story here reproduced, have come into my hands at various times. My solitary non-Sinhalese informant was Ena Mohammedhu Lebbe, a Mohammedan well versed in Sinhalese folklore and custom. He was an itinerant antique vendor of twenty-five years' experience, and told me he heard the story from a Sinhalese in a hamlet near Kandy in the Central Province.

As regards the account itself, the narrators are all agreed on the main points, and only questions of completeness and coherence dictated the choice of the particular version here reported.

My informant in this case belonged to one of the lowest castes in Ceylon, the *Berawya* caste, which has for generations specialized in the arts of drumming, ceremonial dancing, exorcism and magic. He lived about 20 miles to the South-east of Colombo and practised all the professions mentioned. He was of exceptional intelligence, and recognized, even by his brothers of the trade, as an authority in several branches of magic. I never knew his name<sup>2</sup>.

I shall now proceed to the story and give a free but faithful account of what was told me. My comments on a few points that I think require elucidation will be reserved for the end.

It is said that a prince and princess, brother and sister, who were out walking felt tired, and decided to rest. Before sitting down (1) the prince carelessly drove his sword into the ground and left it there. By and by the princess wanted to chew betel-nut, but finding she had no quick-lime she asked her brother for some. He, in accordance with the custom (2) by which a brother was not supposed to touch his sister, drew his sword out of the ground, scraped some lime on to its tip, and offered it to her thus. The moment she had tasted it her passion was aroused and she proceeded to make advances of an unmistakably erotic nature towards him. Outraged by this conduct he pierced her with his sword and killed her. Overcome with remorse he started to investigate the cause of his sister's changed behaviour, till chancing to dig where the sword had entered the ground he (the narrator was uncertain whether it was the prince himself or another who appeared on the scene later) came across a yam that had been transfixed by the blade in its passage through the soil. The cause of the Princess's unseemly behaviour was then traced to the juice of the yam which had been conveyed from the blade to the lime and thence unwittingly into her mouth.

The 'Naga Meru Ale' as the yam was henceforth to be called has since been considered a very powerful love magic (5).

My informant, who admitted that he had never personally seen the yam (3), next proceeded to give me a description of it, which had been given him by a friend who claimed to have seen a specimen. He also gave me the traditional rules that have to be observed in the practice of the 'Naga Meru Ale' love magic.

The plant, which was easy to identify as it had only two leaves which sprouted from a slender stalk, flourished on the slopes of the mountain Pidurutalagalle (4). The yam was peculiar in that it consisted of two portions, an upper and larger male half which grew above a smaller female one. If the love of a male was desired, a little juice of the male half, mixed with the sweat or blood of the person who had recourse to its magic, was administered to the intended victim in his food. If female love was desired, the lower half was substituted.

To come to the points that I think require explanation. In the case of (1) the sitting down here refers to the squatting attitude adopted by all Sinhalese when they cannot find a suitable support for their buttocks such as a boulder, log or chair. In this position the individual appears to be sitting in the air, the buttocks being invariably about 6 inches above the ground. The strain is always on the knees, from which the remainder of the body seems to be suspended. A sword by the side would prove a serious encumbrance to anyone contemplating this posture: consequently, the Prince's action in divesting himself of his sword would be the most natural one in the circumstances.

(2) Beyond the observance of the fact that in the villages brother and sister (especially after puberty) are very much more reticent in their conduct towards each other than they would be towards friends, I have never found the brother and sister taboo, as regards mere physical contact, existing in any vital form to-day, though it would be rare indeed to see a brother caress or even touch his sister unless he was forced to do so by reason of his being jointly engaged in work with her which necessitated

<sup>2</sup> I always addressed him by his nick-name *Boosiqu*.

such contact. Perhaps the best way of stating their attitude towards each other would be to say that it is one of mutual respect which eschews all that is ribald and salacious.

The narrator's statement was that such a custom did exist at the time of the event, and there appeared to be no reason why he should fabricate this portion of the story, especially as there is a superstition which still prevails, according to which it is considered unlucky to transfer things of negligible value—as the lime would be in this case—to another, without having placed it previously on something else. The narrator was aware of this, and could if he chose have had recourse to this current belief rather than the practically obsolete brother and sister taboo. It is also of interest to note that, while marriage between cross-cousins is considered the ideal state, that between parallel cousins—who are incidentally called brothers and sisters (*sahodaraya*—brother and *sahodari*—sister)—is looked upon with repugnance, though it sometimes does take place to-day.

(3) I have never come across anyone who has ever personally seen the 'Naga Meru Ale' though two of my informants told me they had friends who had said that they had seen specimens. My own opinion is that the yam has no existence outside my narrators' imaginations.

(4) The narrators are divided on this point between Pidurutalagalle and Adam's Peak, the two highest mountains in Ceylon. No other district has ever been mentioned to me in connection with the yam.

(5) Apparently the power of engendering love had always resided in the yam, though the tragic accident alone brought its peculiar qualities to the notice of mankind.

In conclusion, it may be observed that, whilst in the case of the Trobriand myth of the 'Sulom-woya' reported by Malinowski in *Sex and Repression in Savage Society*, the brother and sister did in fact have intercourse, the Ceylon story refrains from giving any details as regards physical relationship. One feels almost tempted to speculate on the chances of a franker exposition of facts in the original story being modified through the ages to suit the demands of an advancing civilization.

J. F. PIERIS.

## Technology.

Raghavan.

**The Fire-Piston in South India.** By M. D. Raghavan. *Madras Museum*.

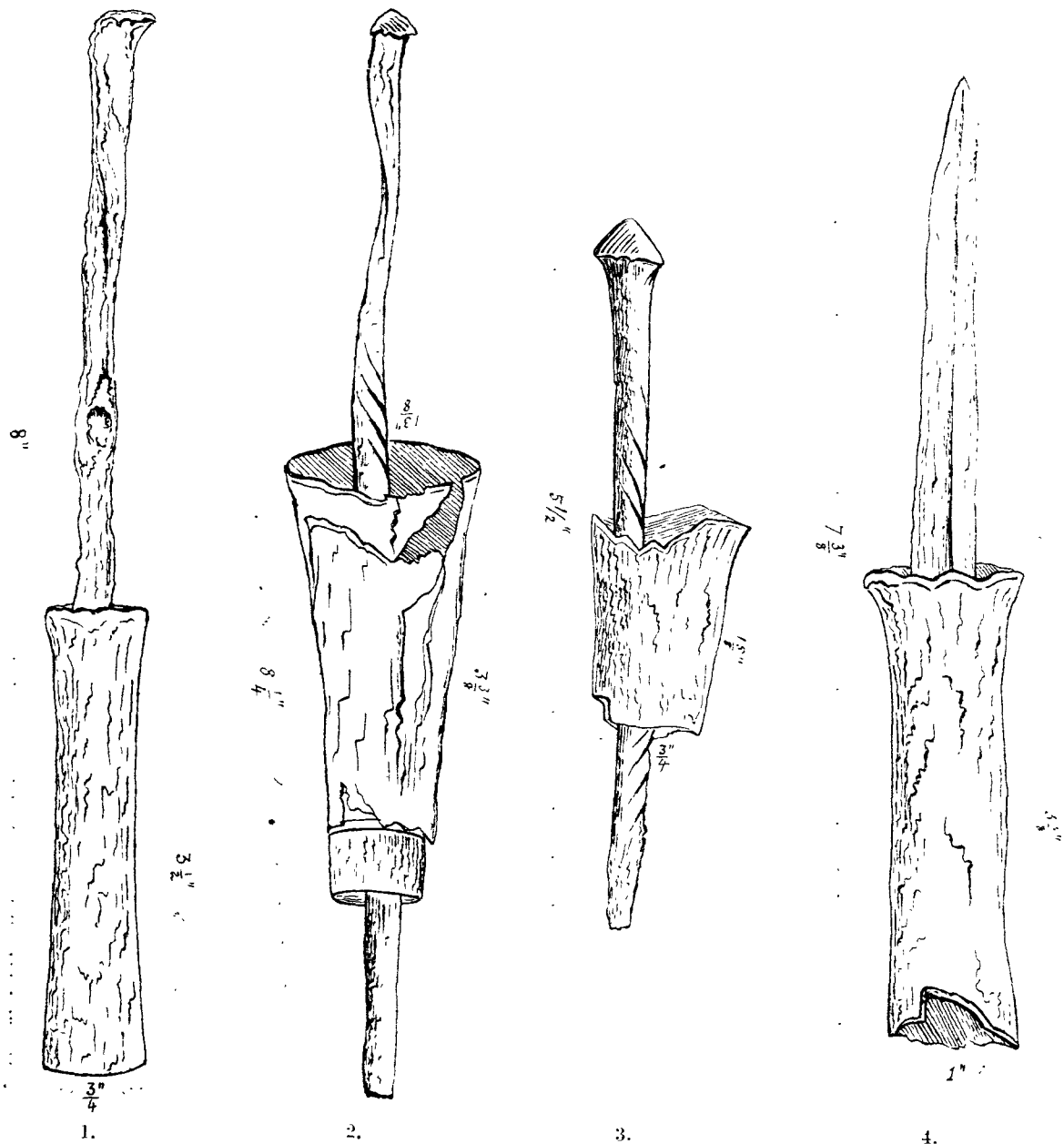
**112** In his paper published in *Anthropological Essays presented to Sir Edward Tylor*, and reprinted in the *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution*, 1907, Mr. Henry Balfour has shown that, as a method of fire production, the fire-piston was well known over that part of Asia extending from Burma to the Islands of Indonesia, before its discovery in Europe early in the last century. As described by Balfour, the European specimen "consists of a brass tube closed at one end and very accurately bored, into which fits a piston. At the lower extremity of this piston is a cup-like depression in which tinder can be placed. By forcibly driving home the piston, the column of air is violently compressed into a fraction of its normal length, the sudden condensation generating an amount of heat amply sufficient to ignite the tinder. The piston rod is at once withdrawn as quickly as possible and the tinder is found to be glowing."

The principle is the same in the Asiatic fire-piston, which is operated in much the same manner, though made of different material. The cylinder is of bamboo, wood or horn. The simplest form comes from the northern Shan States on the Chinese frontier, "consisting of a tube of stout bamboo closed by a natural node at one end, with a plunger of wood with a large head."

Among the antiquities from the ancient burial site at Adichanallur excavated by Alexander Rea are four cylindrical objects in iron, each with a central piston rod. Two of them are wide at the top and narrowing towards the bottom (Figs. 2 and 3), and the other two of more uniform bore (Figs. 1 and 4). All the four specimens are so badly affected by their having lain so long under the earth that the bottoms have gone out of three: in two, the rods are projecting on either side: and all are badly flaking in fragments. Two of the rods have round knobs, one shows evident traces of having possessed a knob, while all the four have flattened ends, including the only specimen which has a piston rod with a pointed top.

Rea describes these objects in his *Catalogue of Prehistoric Antiquities of Adichanallur and Perumbair* (Government Museum, Madras, p. 16) as "hollow iron handles with rods through the

centre. These have knobs on the top and are pointed: probably they were intended to drill wood by means of string wrapped round the handles, drawn backwards and forwards, as is done by Indian carpenters at the present day." Only one of them, however, is really pointed, and



FIGS. 1-4. FIRE-PISTONS OF IRON FROM ADICHANALLUR.

structurally there is little to support the drill form, which has a different construction. In a carpenter's bow-drill the handle is of stout wood and seldom in metal, and is made in two sections, an upper and a lower, at the extremity of which the sharp bit is fixed. The lower section is attached to the upper by a central pivot on which it turns. When in use the top part rests in the palm of the left hand, the business end of the instrument is applied to the plank to be bored through, and a

-string is twisted round the lower part, the ends of the string being fastened to the two ends of a horizontal wooden handle which, when worked back and forth, imparts the movement to the sharp bit which works its way through the plank, boring a hole.

From this description of the structure of a bow-drill, it will be seen that the specimens in question with their rods of rounded knobs and flattened ends ill accord with a boring instrument, least of all a drill. A spiral form is no doubt noticeable in one of the rods and to a less extent in another, which may have suggested a drill. But the spiral is not where one expects to find it in a drill, for the screw of the spiral form is absent at the tip or at the lower parts of the rods, but occurs towards the middle. Further, neither of these rods has a sharp or pointed end essential to a drill. Again, the great length of the rods in proportion to the cylinder also argues against these objects having been intended as drills, for the bit in a drill is essentially a small piece, whereas in the specimens in question the rods are even longer than the cylinders. On these grounds any possibility of these specimens having been boring tools must be excluded.

Further consideration of the spiral character leads us to infer that the form is not only not opposed to the idea of a fire-piston, but may quite possibly have been a feature of the earlier forms of it, serving the double purpose of holding the packing tight, and enabling the combustible matter to be attached to the end, as in the European specimen (plate 2, fig. 2, of Balfour's paper) ending in a screw, at the end of which the cotton rag is attached. The other features of the specimens, such as the cylindrical form, the accurate and tight-fitting bore of the specimen with its closed bottom (Fig. 1), the rounded and knobbed pistons with flattened ends, are all characters essential to the fire-piston, while such minute characters as the cup-like depression at the end of the piston rods must have been defaced by time and rust.

Consideration of the characters present leads us therefore to recognize these prehistoric objects in iron as early forms of the fire-piston in the East—perhaps the earliest known specimens. The antiquities in metal excavated at the burial site at Adichanallur comprise a rich and varied collection of objects evidencing a progressive state of civilization, including, besides agricultural implements, weapons of war and the chase, articles of domestic use and decorative objects, many of which bear evidence of high technical skill. It is therefore not surprising that these antiquities should include a few of these interesting fire-making appliances, if as we presume from the evidence of these specimens, the fire-piston as an artificial means of producing fire was known and practised in South India. The distribution of the Oriental fire-piston having been previously established over Burma, parts of Indo-China and over a considerable part of the islands of Indonesia, its extension to South India, which is suggested by these objects, is of undoubted ethnological and cultural interest, and provides yet another link in the cultural affinity subsisting between these two regions, an affinity which has long been observed by students of early culture.

M. D. RAGHAVAN.

## ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE : PROCEEDINGS.

'Gunny,' a Fertility Cult of the Nupe in Northern Nigeria. *Summary of a Communication presented by Dr. S. F. Nadel, 4th June, 1935.*

**113** The *gunnu* cult of the Nupe is one of the most important, if not the most important, among the religious cults of the tribe. It is essentially a seasonal cult, linked with the harvest and the consecration of first crops. But its meaning goes beyond the province of agricultural activities. It embraces the whole scope of human life, it bears on 'fertility' and 'increase' in the widest sense of the word, and expresses the almost metaphysical idea of the 'fulfilment' of a phase of individual as well as tribal life. It is the eternal 'new beginning' that the cult undertakes to safeguard. This becomes also manifest in the mythology of the cult and in its linguistic documentation.

The analysis of the *gunnu* ritual shows that we have to look, above all, to the ritual itself, to the special form of life which it calls into being, and to the psychological influences which it exercises on the community, for an explanation of the social forces which keep alive the cult and the belief in its power and necessity. The essence of all religion, namely, the formulation of ethical rules and values, enters the *gunnu* indirectly : through the always implied reference to the High God belief ; and then

through the principle of 'concentrating' in the ritual the whole social life of the community, which thus gains the significance of finality and eternity.

S. F. NADEL.

**Native Life in Central Australia.** *Summary of the Commentary by Dr. H. K. Fry on Films exhibited 18 June, 1935.*

114

The titles and principal subjects of the exhibited films are as follows :—

*Ernabella No. 3*.—Making a wooden vessel from the wood of a gum tree. An oval piece is cut out from a hollow branch, shaped roughly with a tomahawk, finished off with an adze, seasoned in hot sand, and rubbed with ochre. The use of the digging stick as a lever is illustrated.

Making spears from *tecoma* wood. Drawing tendons from a wallaby tail. Plucking a wallaby and making fur string. The fur is beaten, and then spun on a light wooden spindle.

Making a pubic tassel. The string is wound round the hand, then each turn of the string is slipped over the fingers and twisted. Making a *waninga*.

*Ernabella No. 4*.—Decorating wooden hairpins by a form of 'poker' work. Building a wet-weather shelter. Striking flakes from a pebble. Women sharpening digging sticks by charring them in the fire and then rubbing to a long chisel point. A man undoes, and does up, his chignon. A man grooms his beard. Cleaning the teeth. Fixing-on the pubic tassel. Decorating the hair with gum-nuts.

The evulsion of a tooth. The gum is pushed away from the tooth with bone and wooden points. The tooth is loosened by hitting a wooden chisel with a granite boulder. The tooth is then worked out quickly with the fingers.

*Cockatoo Creek No. 3*.—Making fire by sawing a spear-thrower across a shield. Making and throwing boomerangs. Carving a shield and a wooden vessel for holding water from the trunk of a bean tree. During the process the use of the hatchet and adze is illustrated, and the adze point is reset in the gum mounting. The handle of the shield is carved out of the solid with a digging stick, made of tough mulga wood. Stone points are too brittle. Straightening wood for spear handle. A pair of 'Kur-daitja' shoes. An exhibition of the method of stalking a kangaroo.

*Cockatoo Creek No. 4*.—Preparing and cooking *euro*. The animal is eviscerated, and the hole in the skin pinned up with a skewer. It is singed in the fire, and then buried in hot ashes. After cooking, the abdomen is opened and the juice lapped up.

A small boy digging 'yelka.' Decorating for a ceremony. The Kangaroo ceremony. The decoration of the Yam totem ceremony. The White Plum ceremony illustrating shivering movement.

*Ernabella No. 2*.—Firing grass in driving *euros*. The chase of the quarry. Children collecting grubs from the roots of dead trees. A marsupial mole, and its manner of going to ground. The use of *Kurrajong* seeds as food, the method of collection from the droppings of crows at water holes. Men coming in with game and cooking it. Later, repairing their broken spears.

**Human Biology Meeting :** 3 May, 1935 : *Professor W. E. Le Gros Clark in the chair.*

Professor R. J. A. Berry read a paper on

115

*Craniometry and Human Intelligence.*

A brief historical survey of the various applications of head measurement as an index of intelligence shows the main landmarks. In 1898, thirty-six anatomists submitted their heads for measurement in the anthropological laboratory of Trinity College, Dublin. In 1901, Dr. Alice Lee devised her formulæ for calculating the cubic capacity of the skull by measurements of head height, length and breadth. In 1906, Pearson's work indicated that the correlation between head-size and intelligence in normal persons was "so small that it would be "idle to predict the intellectual ability of an "individual from his or her head measurement. "On the other hand, if a population were divided

"into those with large and those with small heads, "we should expect to find a very slight balance of "average intelligence in the former group." 1908 saw the publication of the recommendations of the British Anthropological Committee as to the precise methods to be used in head measurement in the living.

A new phase in the history of craniometry and its relation to intelligence was inaugurated by the researches of Professor Berry and his co-workers. In 1920, Anderson's anatomical experiments showed that Lee's formula No. 14 was the one most suitable for the living Caucasian head. Malcolm next showed by his researches on 355 living male Victorian criminals that their average cranial capacity was less than that of Pearson's educated class by 100 c.c. and that the range of the dispersal of the series was greater in the former group. So far work



on these lines had been handicapped by the lack of adequate information as to normal measurements. This gap was filled by the work of Berry and Porteus, who measured the heads of 10,000 living Victorian school-children, adolescents and university students of both sexes and at every year of life from 6 to 21 years, using the methods advocated by the British Anthropometric Committee. An important finding was that the differences in the cubic capacities of individuals of the same sex, age and social standing were, for every year of life, seldom less than 400 c.c.—that is, about four times more than between the 355 criminals and the educated classes of Pearson. Porteus then took from these 10,000 living individuals a random sample of 100 children whose cranial capacity fell below the 10th percentile and another 100 above the 90 percentile. Intelligence testing showed that of the microcephales at least one-half were at feeble-minded or dull levels of mentality, while of the macrocephales one-quarter were super-intelligent. This and other work strongly suggested that whereas the physiological correlation between head-size and intelligence was small, the pathological correlation might be significant. Subsequent work by Professor Berry among mental defectives in Victoria and later at Stoke Park Colony has shown this to be the case. The use of the 'psychogram' as an aid to diagnosis of mental deficiency was then explained. This system shows the percentile level of cubic capacity of skull, standing and sitting height, right and left grip, vital capacity, and mental ratio on the Binet and Porteus tests, conveniently displayed on a graph. Deviations from the arbitrary 'normal' are clearly demonstrated by this method.

In explanation of the above remarkable findings reference is made to neurological science. Briefly expressed, the mammalian neo-pallial cerebral cortex consists of three layers of nerve cells—the supra-granular, granular, and infra-granular layers. The latter layer is almost as well developed in the higher mammals as in man, and in the new-born human infant has already reached 82 per cent. of its ultimate thickness. The supra-granular layer, on the other hand, is markedly superior in man, and its predominance is a human attribute. The functions attributed to it are judgment, reason and control—in a word, social adaptation—whilst the infra-granular layer is assumed to subserve instinctive behaviour. At birth the supra-granular layer in man has only achieved 50 per cent. of its ultimate adult development. There is some evidence that it is especially this last layer which is imperfectly developed in most mental defectives. Although absolute proof as to the validity of these views is at present lacking (indeed, but little research has been done on the subject) yet these neurological considerations render possible a tenable hypothesis as to the marked differences found in the size of the brains and skulls of defectives as compared with the normal. Work on these lines is in progress at Stoke Park Colony.

Some of the present activities of the Burden Mental Research to which Dr. Fraser Roberts is the

principal investigator are expected to shed more light on these questions of head capacity and intelligence, and of their inheritance. In this investigation head measurements are being made on large numbers of school-children of known mental age, and also upon defectives of the same social standing and chronological age.

Lastly, a correlation was established between these anthropometric and mental tests, as estimated during life, and the actual brains of 51 cases whose deaths had occurred subsequently. As the brains themselves were found to be 20 per cent. less than the lowest limit above which the bulk of normal figures occur, this craniometrical approach to the study of deviation from mental normality seemed to offer a promising field for extended study and research.

Professor Le Gros Clark then opened the discussion from the chair. He said the speaker was to be congratulated on the initiative and determination which he had displayed in his attempt to relate cranial measurements with intelligence. It would be interesting to know whether, apart from the pathological state of mental deficiency, it was possible to establish any correlation between *normal* degrees of intelligence and cranial dimensions. As regarded the actual size of the brain, racial studies of intelligence might offer promising material for research. It would be interesting, for instance, to seek for an explanation of the unusually large endocranial capacity of such primitive peoples as the Eskimo. It seemed necessary to urge caution in attempting to assign different mental functions to the different laminae of the cerebral cortex. While the evidence at hand did suggest the possibility of such a differentiation of function, it was very far from being proved. The supra-granular layer of the cortex was very well developed in many quite lowly mammals, even though it might in some areas be relatively thicker in man.

Dr. G. M. Morant said that, in regard to the statistical aspect, there seemed to be two distinct problems: (a) whether any association existed between the head-measurements and intelligence of *normal* individuals, and (b) whether there were any pathological conditions which entailed both abnormal head-measurements and abnormally low intelligence. The pioneer work of Professor Karl Pearson related to the first of these problems only. Did the lecturer's data for the long series of Australian children confirm Professor Pearson's results, or not? The correlations which would make comparison possible had apparently not been published. As regards association of mental and cranial capacity, a comparison of the average head (or skull) measurements for different races led to some curious conclusions. There was good evidence, for example, that some Upper Palaeolithic races in Europe had larger cranial capacities than any known there subsequently.

Miss M. L. Tildesley expressed appreciation of the valuable data that had been and were being assembled on head diameters at different ages, but criticized the application of Pearson and Lee's

capacity-formulae to children. These were based on the relation found to exist between three major diameters and capacity, in three series of skulls, and they gave the nodal value (the most probable) in the considerable range of possible capacities for adult skulls of given diameters and the appropriate sex. To apply the formulae to diameters of the living head one must deduct from the latter the average thickness of soft tissue at their terminals. Lee and Pearson's estimate of this was provisional, in the absence of adequate data, and later evidence suggested that it ought to be modified; but in any case the thickness allowed was too great for a child, and the younger the child the greater the excess, and consequently the more serious the under-estimate of skull-capacity. Another and probably still greater cause of error lay in the shape and thickness of the young skull itself. In the adult skull, and particularly the adult male (whose formula was the only one used in these investigations, for both sexes), not only was the bone thicker throughout, but the large frontal sinus gave a greater forward thrust to the glabella—differences

both of which would reduce interior diameters relative to exterior more in the adult than the child. Again, the child's forehead was fuller and more vertical, and therefore more capacious than maximum length from glabella would suggest. Thus the combined effect of the application of the formula for the adult to the child would be a progressive under-estimation of capacity, the lower one descended in the age-scale, and an exaggeration of the average yearly increments with growth. Until sufficient cranial material could be assembled to supply reliable formulae expressing the relationship between external diameters and cubic capacity in children of different ages, one could only compare the individual diameters in different groups.

Dr. Norman, Medical Assistant to the Burden Mental Trust, demonstrated the technique used in taking the diameters.

A general discussion of technique and instruments followed, dealing particularly with the difficulties associated with the measurement of auricular height which still await a solution.

M. L. T.

## PROCEEDINGS OF OTHER SOCIETIES.

**International Congress for the Scientific Investigation of Population Problems.** *Berlin, 26th August -1st September, 1935.* **116**

This Congress is organized by the International Population Union, and the German Societies for Statistics, Race, Hygiene, and Public Health. Its President is Dr. Eugen Fischer, Director of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Anthropology, Human Heredity and Eugenics in Berlin. The government of the Reich, and its capital, Berlin, are willing to promote the Congress in all respects.

Scientific matters will be treated in four general assemblies and numerous sectional sittings. The sections include: (1) population statistics; (2) population biology and race hygiene; (3) social, economical, and psychological population problems (4) medicine and hygiene.

Communications should be submitted to the Congress by June 15th, 1935, at the latest. Short résumés of the contents, to be translated beforehand

and distributed among the participants of the Congress, must be submitted by July 1st, 1935. Manuscripts of communications must be received by August 1st, 1935.

The provisional programme includes discussions of *The Problem of Births, Town and Country, Racial Hygiene*, and the *Protection and Conservation of Life*.

The General Assembly of the International Union for the Scientific Investigation of Population Problems will be held on Monday, August 26th, under the presidency of Sir Charles F. Close, K.B.E., F.R.S.

There will be receptions by the Government of the Reich, the City of Berlin, and the Oberbürgermeister of Potsdam, visits to scientific institutes, labour-corps camps, and the like, and an excursion to Saxon Switzerland. On the German railways members will be granted 60 per cent. reduction of fares.

The office of the Congress is at 11, Einemstrasse, Berlin, W. 62.

## REVIEWS.

### TECHNOLOGY.

**Studies in Primitive Looms.** *By H. Ling Roth, Reprint. Halifax: King and Sons, 1934. 150 pp., plates, illustrations. Price 7s. 6d.* **117**

It is a great pleasure to welcome in book form as a single work the late Mr. Ling Roth's studies in primitive looms which originally appeared in the 'Journal' and were subsequently reprinted in Bankfield Museum Notes. The present edition is, with small exceptions, identical with the original publication. It is a pity, therefore, that where Greek words have been used, care was not taken to print them correctly; such a small amount of proof correcting would have tidied up the accents and

cleared out an impossible word like *ἐξέλουσα*. A final triple reprint gives a chance for absolutely perfect typography. The technical descriptions given by Mr. Ling Roth have always stood as models of their kind, and students of primitive technology should be very grateful for the fact that they can now obtain, for so moderate a price, a handbook which will serve both as a useful introduction to the subject and also as a work of reference to the geographical distribution of various forms of weaving.

The general conclusions reached are, as readers of the 'Journal' will remember, that some looms are of independent invention, while others are ultimately

derived from types invented in a very different home, others again being simply transmitted by culture contact. Mr. Ling Roth admits that the evidence at present is limited and it is difficult with the evidence at his disposal to come to any other conclusion. It seems not impossible that were further evidence available these conclusions might have to be modified. But looms are fragile things and it is unlikely that the archaeological record will be much added to. It is a curious thing about looms how very different types may exist side by side; in Mexico, for instance, a somewhat modified Mediterranean loom may be seen in action practically next door to a true American loom. The peculiar nature of the Ainu loom is discussed at some length. This appears to be of special importance taking into record the position and culture of the Ainu themselves.

On one point I have always had a quarrel with Mr. Ling Roth. He does not allow the singing of the spool, to which there are so many references in classical literature, and argues that it is really the loom which sings. Many of us have listened to weavers at the loom in all sorts of odd places, and though it may be true that in most cases the spool itself is often dumb yet it is the spool which sets the loom singing and it would be difficult to find a more happy epithet for it than *arguta*, so why translate 'deft' or 'nimble' when that is not what it means.

But these points are really mere pedantry, all of us who are interested in looms will be more than glad to find a place for this book on our shelves and will be very sorry that Mr. Ling Roth himself is not alive to see the book in its final form and to reply to criticism in his pleasant learned way. The reviewer would like to conclude by saying that what little he knows of primitive looms all began by what he learned from Mr. Ling Roth, without whose teaching he would never have been able to go to the true source of knowledge, the weavers themselves, a cheerful, skilful guild all the world over.

L. H. DUDLEY BUXTON.

**1. Altperuanische Gefässmalereien.** Von Heinrich Doering. Sonderdruck aus *Maiburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, Bd. II. Verlag des Kunstgeschichtlichen Seminars. Maiburg. 11 in. 8½ in. Part I. 68 pp., 24 plates. Part II. 63 pp., 16 plates.

**2. Les Arts Anciens d'Amérique au Musée Archéologique de Madrid.** Par H. A. Lavachery. Anvers: De Sikkel. 1929. 11½ in. x 8½ in. 128 pp., 51 plates.

1. This is a valuable account, lavishly illustrated in black and white and in colour, of paintings on pottery from the region of Nasca and the south Peruvian coast generally. As the author points out, the method of presenting the individual elements of the paintings "on the flat," instead of reproducing the whole of a vessel—usually with a curved surface—has many advantages for the student. The author pays tribute to Eduard Seler, who was a pioneer in this practice.

Although the illustrations are naturally the first to catch the eye, this work is very far from being a mere album, and the author discusses many questions of technique, symbolism, and mythology. In the second part, in particular, the Rain-god, the Earth-goddess,

the Moon-god, Cloud demons, and other personalities are figured and discussed. Americanists especially, but not alone, will be grateful to the author for the results of his arduous labours.

2. The Madrid Museum has 7,000 American 'pieces' in its collections, and amongst the small proportion that are figured in this publication, are some which have not hitherto been reproduced. The collection itself was made without method and 'riche de pièces inestimables, il est en même temps plein de lacunes.'

The objects illustrated come from some of the more 'spectacular' regions of America, and the author has endeavoured to remedy the lack of data that unfortunately appears to characterize the collection. Nothing can fully make up for the absence of collectors' labelling, but M. Lavachery has done a good deal towards precise identification. The illustrations are of high quality, and many of the specimens may justly be described as 'pièces inestimables.'

H. S. HARRISON.

#### PHYSICAL.

**Adam's Ancestors.** By L. S. B. Leakey, M.A., Ph.D. London: Methuen, 1934. 244 pp. Price 7s. 6d.

**119** Dr. Leakey is well known for the illuminating discoveries which he has made in recent years regarding prehistoric man in Africa. In this book he has correlated the results of his own researches with the available data bearing on the evolution of Man in other parts of the world, and he has succeeded in producing a most valuable outline of human prehistory. This outline is 'popular' in the sense that it presents in a brief and remarkably lucid manner a statement of the problems and the present position of the science of palaeoanthropology, and at the same time it is an erudite work which contains many refreshingly original ideas and interpretations which challenge the serious attention of the professional anthropologist. Palaeoanthropology is a subject which demands the co-operation of a number of experts—the geologist, palaeontologist, anatomist, typologist, etc. The reviewer can claim a special knowledge of only one of the sciences which are thus involved, and is therefore not in a position to offer a critical survey of the whole of Dr. Leakey's thesis. Dr. Leakey has had extensive practical experience in the manufacture and interpretation of stone implements. Indeed, in his skill in the use of these tools, he must equal the original palaeolithic craftsmen, for he records that with a single Aurignacian backed-blade he was able to skin and cut up a Thompson's gazelle in less than twenty minutes. He devotes several chapters to palaeolithic cultures, and shows that the subdivision of these cultures is probably much more complicated than is generally realized. "During the Upper Pleistocene," he says, "the various species of Stone Age man were sub-dividing into innumerable races and tribes, each of which often made its stone tools by such distinctive methods, or of such distinct types, that we have to give them new labels to distinguish them." Apart from the question whether differences of technique necessarily imply racial differences, there is little doubt that Dr. Leakey has made out a strong case for his classification of palaeolithic cultures, and he is to be congratulated not only on the lucidity of his treatment of this intricate subject, but also on the way in which he has attempted the very difficult task of correlating the cultures of different parts of the world with the geological phases of the Pleistocene period.

A considerable part of Dr. Leakey's book is devoted to an account of the various physical types of palaeolithic man. By reference to certain features of the skull, *i.e.*, the conformation of the supra-orbital ridges and the tympanic plate, the presence or absence of a 'canine' fossa, the disposition of the alveolar processes of the

mandible, and the development of a chin eminence, he sharply divides the main human stem into two groups, Paleanthropoidea—which includes the Neanderthal types, *Pithecanthropus*, and *Sinanthropus*, and the Neanthropoidea—which includes *Homo* and *Eoanthropus*. Moreover, he represents these two groups as having diverged so far back as the Miocene period. Most anatomists will consider that this view is rather extreme. In the earlier representatives of the Neanderthal type, e.g., the Ehringsdorf fossil discovered in 1925, the distinctive 'neanderthaloid' features were evidently much less pronounced than in later forms, and approximated more closely to *Homo sapiens*. This suggests that the Neanderthal type may have arisen in Pleistocene times as a secondary regression from a type more akin physically to modern man. Again, the remarkable anatomical features of the jaw and teeth of *Eoanthropus* seem to outweigh very considerably the evidence of the calvarium in assessing the relation of this form to *Homo sapiens*. The characters which Dr. Leakey has selected for his classification of palaeolithic man are probably too few to allow of certain conclusions, and it may be questioned whether they are all entirely satisfactory criteria from the taxonomic point of view. Thus the 'canine' fossa as described and figured in this book lacks a clear definition, and we may note incidentally that it evidently does not correspond to the canine fossa of human anatomists. Nevertheless, Dr. Leakey's conclusions are of the greatest interest and demand a close consideration. His researches have produced strong evidence that modern types of Man were in existence in Africa in the early part of the Lower Pleistocene, that is to say, at an earlier date than would have been conjectured by most anthropologists. This discovery has rather abruptly upset the current conceptions regarding the evolution of *Homo sapiens*, and it will doubtless take some time for anthropologists to adjust their own ideas of human phylogenesis in order to take these new facts into account. Dr. Leakey's *Homo Kanamensis* is so closely similar to *Homo sapiens* (judging by rather fragmentary remains) that it may well be doubted whether it deserves a separate specific name, and yet these remains are derived from very early Pleistocene deposits. This implies that the genesis of modern types of Man is to be sought in Pliocene or even Miocene times. Certainly we must accept the probability that the human stem had already segregated from the common anthropomorph stock (which also gave rise to the modern anthropoid apes) in Miocene times, for we have the striking evidence of a fossil chimpanzee found in Miocene deposits of East Africa and recently described by Dr. Hopwood. This fossil is so similar to the modern chimpanzee that some authorities doubt whether it can be distinguished generically. If, then, the modern anthropoid apes were almost fully differentiated in the Miocene, the evolution of the human stem must at least have progressed some considerable distance at that early time.

In his foreword to Dr. Leakey's book, Sir Gowland Hopkins remarks that it "will appeal to a wide circle" and will make clear to all its readers the increasing "dignity of prehistory as a subject for study." We heartily endorse this opinion. Dr. Leakey has an unusually attractive style, and throughout his book he shows an intimate knowledge of all the branches of palaeoanthropology combined with the ability to sift evidence with skill and judgment. W. E. LE GROS CLARK.

**Rassiale, soziale und körperbauliche Untersuchungen an Chinesen.** By F. Wagenseil. Zeitsch. f. Morphol u. Anthropol., 1933. XXXII. 120

This paper contains an account of measurements made on 250 Chinese of various social types, coming

from different parts of China and measured in Shanghai. The measurements are stated to follow the methods of Martin, the numbers applied to various characters by that author being given. There is no fuller description given, and the author seems to have had no difficulty in understanding Martin's technique. The difference between the measurements of people of different social status is given, and a comparison made with various other authors. These comparisons are accompanied by a critical note on the real comparative value of the different data. The figures are in statistical form, and there are useful curves and photographs. The most doubtful point is whether, even in our present knowledge of the peoples of China, one is justified in pooling together such a miscellaneous collection of people. This point has not escaped Dr. Wagenseil, and he maintains that he has reason to believe that he is really dealing more or less with a racial unit. He has not, however, attempted to justify his position, for which there is much to be said, by a statistical treatment of his material as a whole, and it would be interesting if in a later paper this were done. In the meanwhile, he is to be congratulated on the clear way in which he has collected and displayed his evidence on a very interesting subject. L. H. D. B.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

**Charles Darwin's Diary of the Voyage of H.M.S. Beagle.** Edited from the MS. by Nora Barlow. Cambridge University Press, 1933. 8vo., xxx — 121 432 pp. with Portrait, Diagram and Maps. Price 21s. net.

The first edition of Darwin's famous 'Journal' forms the third volume of the official *Voyages of H.M. Ships Adventure and Beagle*, edited by Captain FitzRoy, which appeared in three volumes in 1839. It attracted general attention at once, and was reprinted in the same year separately, with a new title page in which the familiar phrase '*Journal of Researches in Geology and Natural History*' was first used. Since then it has been often reprinted, with successive changes in detail. But it remains one of the classics of scientific exploration, and it was high time that a full and authoritative text appeared.

This has now been provided admirably from the original manuscript, with all needful aids, bibliography, and introduction. The '*Dramatis Personæ*,' a kind of 'Who's Who in the *Beagle*,' is excellently done, with vivid extracts from Darwin's *Autobiography* and letters. There is an interesting portrait of the Charles Darwin of those days, and diagrams of the internal arrangements of the *Beagle* which help to justify Darwin's own notions of the inside of a ship. But it was the *Beagle's* voyage that, as he also wrote, 'has determined my whole career.' J. L. M.

**Sir George Goldie, Founder of Nigeria.** A Memoir by Dorothy Wellesley, with an Historical Introduction by Stephen Gwynn. London: Macmillan, 1934. 8vo., xiv + 196 pp. with Portrait, Map and other Illustrations. Price 8s. 6d. net. 122

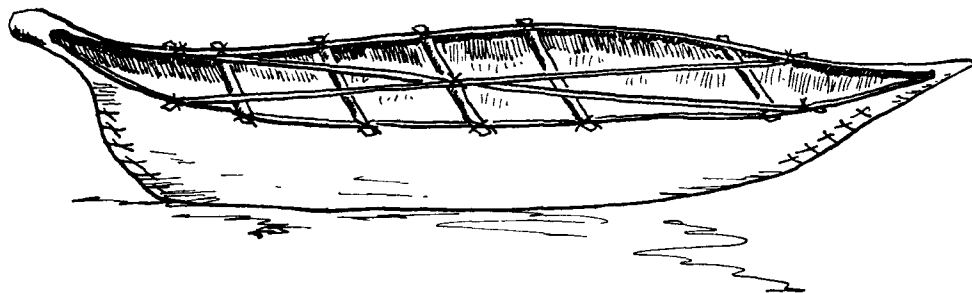
With characteristic self-effacement, Sir George Goldie destroyed his Nigerian papers and discouraged would-be biographers. But Mr. Gwynn writes, from personal knowledge, of the creation of Nigeria, and Lady Gerald Wellesley intimately of its creator, whose friendship she won as a child. These two aspects are complementary, and Herkomer's fine portrait reconciles them. Some day, details of the Nigerian adventures may be accessible in official archives, and perhaps something of the methods by which Goldie's amazing work was done. Here, much as he might himself have resented it, we have at least a glimpse of a remarkable personality, whom even to have met, in a single later episode, was an inspiration. J. L. M.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

## Pungwe River Canoe.

123

SIR,—I was travelling with two African boys and three pack donkeys towards the Pungwe river in the North-East of Southern Rhodesia. When we reached the river at a point about ten miles from the foot of the Pungwe Falls (which have a fall of at least 500 feet and are amazing in their grandeur and beauty) we noticed a small village near the river and this canoe (*ngarawa*) in the water, tied to a tree near the river's edge. This *ngarawa* was 10 feet long and 3 feet wide, was made from the bark of a single tree and sewn together at the ends. The framework was formed of bamboo poles, crossed and lashed with bark string (*zumbo*).

FIG. 1. *Ngarawa*. PRIMITIVE CANOE SEEN ON PUNGWE RIVER.

## The Tacheometer in Archaeological Excavation.

124

SIR,—The measurement of non-architectural archaeological sites by means of a tacheometer has found favour with some prehistorians who have used this method extensively in Malaysia during the last decade, and the writer would like to offer a few criticisms of the system.

The method used is to set up the instrument, some 15 or 20 metres from the site, and to mark out the area to be excavated, then the deposit is removed in layers of some 5 or 6 cms. at a time, and objects found are measured with the tacheometer and numbered for reference. The positions of the objects are then plotted on two maps to the scale desired, one being a plan, and the other a composite vertical section.

*Objects of the Method.*—It is claimed (a) that the survey gives the position of each object with the highest degree of accuracy, both in the horizontal and vertical planes, and that the charts show the archaeological details with equal accuracy, although on a reduced scale, also that the cultural significance of the site can at once be determined by looking at the charts; (b) that, by this method, excavation can be carried out by people who have no knowledge of archaeology, but who have been taught how to use the tacheometer.

*Criticism.*—The aim of an excavation is not so much to determine the exact position of the objects, as to make a critical examination of the different archaeological layers in which they are found, and the relationship of the layers to each other. (a) Even supposing that extreme accuracy were necessary, a tape-measure would give better results than the tacheometer, but the knowledge of the exact distance of one object from another is quite unimportant and useless. Furthermore, the accurate plotting of finds, without reference to the layers in which they are found, is a spurious form of accuracy, because it completely disregards the most important principle of excavation. (b) Little need be said about the wisdom of allowing untrained people to dig, in view of the immense damage which has been done

We were told that it was mainly used as a ferry boat and was built by the people in the village near by. It was in constant use as this ferry was on the main native broad pathway from Nyasaland to this part of Southern Rhodesia, along which the natives come from Nyasaland to work in the gold mine at Penhalonga and at their several occupations in the town of Umtali. The journey usually takes about three weeks.

The boat was propelled by the use of a long bamboo pole and not only carried me and my boys over (we were forbidden to swim because of crocodiles), but also my packs, and that in three crossings only. It was of such primitive type and construction that I thought it worthy of record.

DENYS SHROPSHIRE. C.R.

to important sites by those who know nothing of archaeology and its methods, and who are not in possession of the knowledge which will allow them to interpret the stratigraphical evidence.

H. D. COLLINGS.

*Raffles Museum, Singapore.*

## Pearls as Life Givers. Cf. MAN, 1935, 19, 35.

125

SIR,—Dr. Stephens is probably right in saying (MAN, 1935, 35) that the pearl powder taken (as Miss Durham relates in MAN, 1935, 19) by Chinese ladies to brighten their skin and to keep it youthful had the effect intended. But I doubt whether the ladies understood, as he says, that the lime-salt of which pearls are composed was responsible. I think rather that, in this story, we have only another case of sympathetic magic. The ladies thought that the powder would make their skins as white and lustrous as pearls—just as, in my own beats in the Near East, powdered marble is, because of its colour, taken by nursing mothers to increase their flow of milk. The great price of pearls would no doubt enhance the magic effect.

The 'pearly white' skin which we English admire is matt, but in other parts of the world a feminine skin must emulate the shine as well as the whiteness of a pearl. A Greek witch in South-West Macedonia once made a face-enamel for me, and to make the ingredients bind she said the following spell:

May the mercury and the sublimate of mercury  
Become as united as brothers!  
As brightly as the sun shines  
May Margarita's face shine!

On another occasion I remarked disgustedly to a Greek hostess in the same district that a face-cream which I had bought locally had made my nose shiny. She at once begged me to give it to her, and two evenings later came to display herself before setting out to a party. "Just see how white my face is, and how it shines with your cream! I shall cut out everybody to-night," she said, and went off happy in that anticipation.

Elbasan.

MARGARET HASLUCK.





**HAIDA MEMORIAL FIGURE: BRITISH COLUMBIA.**  
CRANMORE ETHNOLOGICAL MUSEUM.

# MAN

## A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

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### ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

#### America : North-West.

#### With Plate H.

Beasley.

**A Memorial Figure of a Haida Shaman.** *By H. G. Beasley, Cranmore Ethnological Museum.*

This wooden figure is unique in that it represents a memorial to a deceased person. Its history, which is stated on the old label attached, is to the effect that it was carved to perpetuate the memory of a distinguished Shaman who met his death by falling over a precipice whilst hunting in the woods. His emaciated body was found by his relations. The fact that in his fall both legs were fractured and he died of starvation is recorded by the carving, which cleverly illustrates the condition in which the body was found. It will be noticed that the only dress shown is an apron decorated with the Bear totem. Why the feet should penetrate the apron is a matter of conjecture. The result, however, of starvation on this figure is well shown and the general appearance of the figure warrants the attached history.

The sculpture is of considerable age, and its only defect is the nose, which has been rather badly bruised.

The hair coil on the top of the head substantiates the label statement that this person, when alive, was a Shaman, since all such wear the hair long and in a coil as part of their regalia.<sup>1</sup>

It was collected by a member of the Colonial and Continental Church Society about 1850. The total height is 22½ inches (57 cm.).

H. G. BEASLEY.

#### Sociology.

Hocart.

**Blood-Brotherhood.** *By A. M. Hocart.*

Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard has revolutionized the conception of blood-brotherhood in his paper on 'Zande Blood-Brotherhood' (*Africa*, VI, 370). His evidence makes the term a misnomer, because the relationship is definitely not brotherly. It is, as he points out, a joking relationship. Now this joking is very characteristic of moieties and cross-cousins, but it is quite inconsistent with the etiquette of brotherhood among the Azande no less than elsewhere. With them, just as with the Fijians and others, "intercourse between brothers is always coloured by notions of seniority. . . . On the other hand, blood-brothers have an egalitarian status and treat each other with open familiarity across the usual barriers which Zande custom erects between members of society. Hence the behaviour pattern between a man and his brother is incompatible with the behaviour pattern between a man and his blood-brother, and a man cannot therefore be a kinsman and a blood-brother." Professor Evans-Pritchard gives examples of practical jokes quite characteristic of cross-cousinship.

Ideas and the customs that reflect them do not exist as discrete particles, but as organic parts of systems of thought and action. Whoever, therefore, finds a joking relationship, will not stop there, but will look for the remaining members of a system of which joking is but a part. He may not find them, because the institution has so degenerated that joking alone survives. He will, however, find them among the Azande. An Azande buries his blood-brother, marries his daughter, cadges from him, helps him, gives him hospitality, "occasionally a man is largely dependent upon his blood-brother for the necessities of life. It is quite common, in fact, for Azande to contrast

<sup>1</sup> Dawson, *Queen Charlotte Island*: Geological Survey of Canada, N. 17, circa. 1880. Appendix A. p. 123-4.



“ blood-brotherhood with kinship, extolling the first in comparison with the second. They say “ that a blood-brother is a much better friend than a real brother.”

We have here, practically complete, the pattern of behaviour between two moieties : mutual aid combined with playful hostility, intermarriage, interburial. I have, in my *Progress of Man* (242 f.) attempted to derive the whole etiquette of moieties from one fundamental principle; it is that, for some reason or other, there must be two parties to the ritual. We may call these ‘ god and worshipper ’; ‘ victim and sacrificer ’; ‘ principal and ministrant ’; ‘ king and priest ’; or whatever terms we may choose to fit the particular case; for they are all mere variations of the principle. A further rule is that the two parties must belong to different lines. If one line is principal, the other must be ministrant.

The Fijians call such a reciprocal relation ‘ mutual ministry ’ (*veñigaravi* : lit. ‘ facing one another,’ ‘ worshipping one another ’), and I propose to adopt this term. It means that if the deceased belongs to one line the other buries him (Winnabagoes) or mourns for him (Trobriands), or otherwise plays the vis-a-vis. If the bridegroom comes from one side, the bride comes from the other. If one line provides the principal, the other waits upon him, brings him offerings, and so on. If the ritual is a cosmic one, one line is ‘ sky,’ the other ‘ earth.’

Let us apply this to the covenant which the Azande seal with their blood. In the first place, the two parties cannot be brothers: they must belong to different lines. The ritual in which both take part seems to stand apart from all others; but on close consideration, we find that is not so. A drinks B’s blood. That is nothing new: the drinking of blood is a very widespread variety of communion. Sometimes the victim is slaughtered and the blood drunk. Sometimes the blood is drawn from a live victim, especially if it be a man: and in that case we do not call him a victim; but the difference is one of detail, and does not affect the main principle. This drawing of blood from a man is very common in Australia. The primary purpose is to impart strength, but it is used for binding men together so as to prevent treachery; in other words, a ritual of wider import becomes a blood-covenant when used for the sake of the binding effects alone. The Azande blood-covenant does not differ in essence from the Australian or any other blood-communion. It is true the drinking is reciprocal, but that is no new principle; on the contrary, it is fundamental to this mutual ministration, that either side alternates as principal-god-victim. The roles are reversible. The only peculiarity here is that both parties are simultaneously principals and ministrants. This is a hard thing to understand as long as we think of a god as omnipotent, or, at least, immeasurably removed above man. It becomes quite simple if we can shed that ideal, and realize that it is a rare point of view; that, generally, gods are merely persons or things with life to give, who may give it to one another and so worship one another.

Blood is not the only substance used in the Azande ceremony; there are, besides, salt and groundnuts. Animal, vegetable and mineral are all represented. Whether this is accident or design we cannot tell; anyhow, it shows that blood is merely the most sensational of a number of communion substances. This is true of other blood-covenants. Thus, Joinville says the Comans made covenants by drinking the blood of both parties mixed with wine and water (*Histoire de St. Louis*, XCVII, par. 496). Blood is not necessary to a covenant; it may be contracted with other substances.

After the Azande blood-drinking, there is an investiture with a peculiar form of head-dress. And, of course, there is the indispensable word in the form of a conditional curse.

This ritual thus consists of the usual elements of ritual, and there are two parties. These are not drawn from two moieties; they may, in fact, belong to different races; but the ceremony *makes* them to be related in exactly the same way as moieties are elsewhere.

If you want to assign a ritual function to a man, you simply perform the ritual with him in that function. Thus, if you want to make him king, you make him go through the royal ritual. So, if you want two men to be related as ritual opposites, you just make them play their part as opposites, and thenceforth they will be opposites.

For instance, a band of kinsmen may find it advisable to split up into two groups which shall take opposite parts, instead of the same parts, in the ritual. They just carry out a rite in which they act as opposites. Professor and Mrs. Seligman have described such a rite under the name of ‘ splitting ceremony ’ (*Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, pp. 207, 246, 267).

On the other hand, total strangers may think it to their mutual advantage to become opposites from being nothing. They proceed to function as opposites. A common way is to celebrate nuptials between the two parties, who thenceforth intermarry. The Azande method is to carry out the communion part only, and intermarriage follows. This communion is apparently not repeated. Covenants then are merely rituals carried out in order to inaugurate the relationship which is involved in every ritual. It is an interesting example how a custom which has a certain effect comes to be observed solely for that effect, and thus has its original purpose narrowed down.

Some societies may not care to make use of the ritual for the purpose, because existing bonds are quite sufficient to their needs. They are more or less self-sufficient. There the dual organization stands out clearly. Others welcome extensive connections, and so inaugurate cousinships on the slightest provocation. Such are the Azande, and in consequence their form of covenant has declined into little more than a contract which is losing its potency because it has become cheap. The Fijians stand half-way, and so with them the dual system is not yet completely obliterated.

In short, the blood-brotherhood is no brotherhood. It is just a covenant in which blood is used, and covenants are nothing but two-party rituals used not for their proper purpose of fertility, life, strength, victory, but for the sake of the alliance which is a result of the ritual.

Fortunately we have covenants that have not become atrophied like the Azande covenant, because alongside the more restricted aim of alliance they retain the original wider purpose : peace, prosperity, offspring, in short, Life. Such is the Hako ceremony of the Pawnees which, so far from being atrophied, fills 278 pages in Miss Fletcher's fine monograph (22nd Ann. Rep., Bureau of Amer. Ethn., pt. II).

The Hako is performed whenever a tribe seeks to ensure friendly relations with another ; but it is also " a prayer for children, in order that the tribe may increase and be strong ; and also that the " people may have long life, enjoy plenty, and be happy and at peace " (Hako, 26). That is the characteristic objective of a generalized ritual ; and a generalized ritual is a recreation of the world. Accordingly it begins with a reference to the creation myth, as every good creation ceremony does. It has all the usual episodes : sacred marriage, life-giving, rebirth, and so on. It is not primarily a covenant, but a creation ceremony used with special reference to its binding effects.

Different then as the Hako and the Azande ceremonies may seem they are related as a well-preserved ritual is to a decayed one.

A. M. HOCART.

## Prehistoric.

**Hopwood : Burkitt.**

**Notes on Pleistocene Stratigraphy.** (1) *By A. Tindell Hopwood, D.Sc., Dept. of Geology, British Museum (Natural History).*

The definition of the base of the Pleistocene by means of the sudden incursion of the horses, the elephants, and the oxen is at least as old as Haug's ' *Traité de Géologie* ' (1911. **128** See also Penck, in Osborn, 1910, p. 379). A tentative discussion of its European aspects was published by Matthew in 1929. Since that date it has also been utilized by palæontologists (Colbert, 1935 ; Hopwood, 1935) and archæologists (Leakey, 1934), but it has few followers among geologists either in this country or on the Continent, and in France it has been castigated by Professor Boule (1921, p. 50).

Despite the relative neglect of this theory, there is much to be said in its favour, both from the biological and stratigraphical viewpoints. The principle that ' strata are recognized by their organized ' fossils ' is as old as scientific geology itself ; it is a matter of everyday experience that the most certain guides to the age of a stratum are the fossils which it contains. Another useful method of dating is by reference to some important event, and since the fossils are the records on which this dating is to be based, it seems logical to take the appearance of new animals as major events whereby one may recognize major divisions of time. For this reason, it seems preferable to regard the first true horses, oxen and elephants as ushering in the Pleistocene rather than as showing out the Pliocene. Having decided the manner in which we are to define the base of the Pleistocene, we next have to subdivide the Pleistocene itself.

Nowhere has this sub-division been studied more minutely than in Germany, but there are several considerations which prevent the wholesale adoption of the results of those studies in this and other

countries, chief among which being a lack of accurately collected fossils. It is not uncommon, for example, to find teeth of two species of elephants, one earlier and the other later, recorded from the same locality in the Thames valley. This does not necessarily mean that there is a mixture of faunas in one pit. On the contrary, the more likely explanation is that the collector visited two pits, one of which was in an older deposit than the other, and did not record the names of the pits, but only that of the parish in which they both were situated. Another difficulty may arise when endeavouring to check old records. It often happens that 'A.B. & Co.' are working a pit known as 'A.B.'s Pit.' In course of time the pit is worked out and the firm opens up another a short distance away. *but in a deposit of a different age*. Workers who visit the new pit find a different fauna from that originally recorded; because they are unaware of the history of the pits, confusion is the inevitable result.

At present it is best to adopt rule of thumb methods and select three species of elephant, *E. meridionalis*, *E. antiquus*, and *E. primigenius* as the characteristic fossils of the lower, middle and upper Pleistocene respectively. At a later date it will be necessary to modify this, for in Germany there is an alternation of deposits containing *E. antiquus* and *E. primigenius*, and even in England there are signs of such an alternation along the upper reaches of the Thames (*cf.* Sandford, 1925.). It is broadly true, however, to say that typical specimens of these three species distinguish the three sub-divisions of the Pleistocene.

The table in a recent paper (Hopwood, 1935) which shows the distribution of various types of human beings throughout the Pleistocene is incomplete from the point of view of the archæologist because it omits certain important deposits such as Olduvai and the Cromer Forest Bed. Of these the former is undoubtedly Middle Pleistocene. Its fauna is completely uniform throughout. Even though *Deinotherium* be restricted to Bed I, the elephant, horse, hipparion, white rhinoceros, kudu, and other ungulates persist throughout Beds I to IV. Moreover, the occurrence of *Deinotherium* in Bed I loses much of its force when contrasted with the apparent restriction of some form of mastodont to Bed II. Criteria such as these cannot be used for dating the deposits.

So far as the Cromer Forest Bed is concerned, this, too, is of Middle Pleistocene Age. It is certainly much younger than Piltdown, and the most common elephants, *E. trogontherii* and *E. antiquus* appear to be comparable in their development with those of Mosbach in Germany. This line of evidence seems to be confirmed by the rhinoceroses. Hence, the Cromer Forest Bed is of approximately the same age as Olduvai. The archæological implications of this correlation must be left for others better qualified than myself to determine.

A. TINDELL HOPWOOD.

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(2) *By M. C. Burkitt. M.A., Cambridge.*

Dr. Hopwood's article arose from a correspondence I had with him anent the dating of Olduvai Bed I in the current number of the *J.R.A.I.* Vol. LXIV, p. 333, *et seq.* (Wayland). I pointed out to him that, from its archæological contents, Olduvai Bed I seems equated with the Cromer Forest Bed, and as this latter is always placed by geologists at the base of the Pleistocene, Olduvai Bed I could hardly be as late as the Middle Pleistocene. His reply, as will be seen, is that the Cromer Forest Bed itself is Middle Pleistocene, if palæontological data be used as criteria. Following this classification to its logical conclusion, all the East Anglian 'Crag' beds, together with their archæological contents, would have to be classed as Early Pleistocene. While this suggested new classification will have to fight its way in geological and palæontological circles, the matter is clearly one of some importance to archæologists; so I asked Dr. Hopwood to expose the problem in MAN in order that we may be *au courant* with its existence and implications. In part, of course, it is all only a question of nomenclature; but in view of controversies since 1911 it is amusing to note that Tertiary Man of East Anglia may, after all, have to be re-classed as only Early Quaternary. M. C. BURKITT.

## India : Prehistoric.

Gordon.

**The Problem of Early Indian Terracottas.** *By Major D. H. Gordon, D.S.O., Pachmarhi, India.*

The gap in Indian archæology that exists between the lowest date that has, as yet, been advanced for the Indus Valley culture, and that of the Mauryan period, is a source of constant irritation to all those eminent Indologists and Indian 'art pandits' intent upon the exaltation of ancient 'Vedic culture.'

129

In order that they may bridge this gap, they have seized upon, as suitable material, certain terracotta objects about which far too little is known. By so doing they have prejudiced their proper interpretation, forcing on them an uncritical and unscientific dating. This is the result of faulty deductions from supposed close cultural relationship between those objects and others found in the Middle East of considerable antiquity, but which in fact have only that unavoidable resemblance that one crude representation in terracotta is bound to share with another.

Certain terracottas have been singled out and quite arbitrarily classified as 'Primitive' and 'Pre-Mauryan.' Mr. K. de B. Codrington has already done much to show that the alleged primitive characteristics are largely illusory, and that in any case primitiveness unaccompanied by other confirmatory evidence does not indicate great antiquity. Foremost among the champions of the 'Pre-Mauryan terracottas' is Dr. A. K. Coomaraswami. Now it so happens that to advance the work of bridging the gap he has made great use of three terracotta figures<sup>1</sup> which he obtained through a dealer, and which are stated to come from the Peshawar District and from Taxila. This is an unfortunate choice, prompted rather by uncritical deductions from the figures themselves than any first-hand knowledge of the locality in which they were unearthed. The writer, however, has an intimate knowledge of the source of these terracottas, a site named Sari Dheri, roughly half-way between Charsadda and Mardan on the main road between those towns. A description of objects found at this site, and some tentative suggestions as to dates and origins have been published in *J.R.A.I.*, LXII. Failing regular scientific excavation it is difficult to dogmatise, but taking into consideration that, so far, nothing of the nature of associated finds has emerged to support an earlier dating than B.C. 250 at the very earliest for any object found, and that what information one can glean from the villagers points to the fact that many of the primitive heads are discovered at higher levels than the dateable 'Greek' heads, the overworked expression 'Indo-Sumerian' and a second millenium dating are out of place here.

Though, as yet, almost unique in type, the archaic style of terracotta from Sari Dheri, characterized by its large applied and incised eyes,<sup>2</sup> has one definite and dateable parallel, and that is the bone figure from Sirkap, somewhat coyly introduced by Dr. Coomaraswami into his article in *IPEK*.<sup>3</sup> The convention of indicating hair or a head-dress by small squares is present in his own figure from Sari Dheri (TI, No. 1) and in the writer's text (*J.R.A.I.* LXII, fig. 4) from the same site. A forehead mark or ornament is a feature of a number of the most archaic types and can be traced down to quite late types in the same site. The eyes are quite plainly a reproduction in bone of the applied and incised technique. The breasts follow the same convention as those shown in *J.R.A.I.* LXII (Pl. xiv, No. 15) and the girdle is the same style as the girdle and collar shown in *l.c.*, fig. 2c. The sex-indication is identical with that employed in the majority of the archaic terracotta torsos, and the anklets are in line with Coomaraswami's fig. 1, and with the writer's fig. 3 (*MAN*, 1934, 70), and also, which is more important still, bear an even closer resemblance to the anklets of Coomaraswami's fig. 5 from Mathura, and the Yakshini figures on the Kushan railing pillar from Bhuteshwara, both of which will be referred to again later.

Now this bone figure is admitted by Coomaraswami (p. 70, footnote 2) to be Indo-Greek, Scytho-Parthian or Early Kushana; the writer however prefers to regard this type of figure as purely Indian, though there may be a Syrian element,<sup>4</sup> imported, possibly at an early date, but equally possibly either by the Greeks or Parthians, which would account also for a Gandharan head of 'Hariti,' crowned with the turrets of Cybele on head and on both shoulders. In any case the date indicated is about 150 B.C. for the bone figure, and a similar dating for the terracottas having such a number of striking resemblances to it.

A similar or even later date may be assumed for the early Mathura terracottas.<sup>5</sup> The hips are exaggerated and the arms and legs poorly modelled; they would appear to have been a mass production article. The faces owe their excellence to the well-designed mould, but the bodies and limbs are the crude product of inefficient artisan, rather than artist, modellers. Allowing for the probable difference in date of about 150 years which has modified the head-dress, and the poor technique which has produced the stiff arms and crude legs, there is no essential difference between these figures, and the Yakshini figures on the Kushan railing pillars from Bhuteshwara in the Muttra Museum.

Wide hips, small waists, prominent breasts, collars, girdles, bracelets, anklets are all, allowing for the poor skill of the modeller and the excellence of the sculptor, identical. The terracotta lacks only the cloth tucked into the back of the girdle, and even had the modeller wished to have this, it would have been beyond his scope, and unsuited both to his medium and his purpose. To say that the presence of this cloth makes the difference between a nude and a draped goddess is to quibble. The Yakshini figures are nude, and they perpetuate only by a comparatively small number of years the Mathura tradition as exemplified by the terracottas under discussion.

A further falling into line may be instanced by comparing the writer's No. 32 and Coomaraswami's Nos. 24 and 34 (possibly also No. 19). The distinctive square cut in the head-dress just above the forehead is present in all. These are the so-called Sunga terracottas and their date may be placed as in the case of the 'Sunga' terracottas from Basarh, at the close of the first century B.C. The writer is inclined to date his No. 32 very early in the first century A.D.

From this it will be seen that the spans pushed out to bridge the gap rest on a fabric of unreality. The terracottas of archaic appearance from the Peshawar District cannot with reason be dated higher than 200 B.C. The figures from Mathura with moulded faces and modelled bodies<sup>6</sup> seem to differ among themselves only in trivial details of technique and are probably late Sunga (120-80 B.C.). The alleged Sunga figures are by analogy with Bhita and Basarh dateable to the revival of the Sungas at Muttra (57-20 B.C.) or even later, and are not, in any case, attributable to the period usually recognized as Sunga (*i.e.*, second century B.C.).

The animal terracottas afford even more flimsy evidence. The arched-necked horse classed as primitive in the Bhita finds, is, as the writer has pointed out before, common throughout Western Asia, and was introduced probably either by Parthians or Sakas.

If this reasoning is accepted, the only object of art that remains in the gap is the gold leaf figure from the 'Vedic' burial at Lauriya-Nandangarh, which possibly has no great claim either to its title or to the assigned date of 800 B.C.

At this stage an attempt to connect the primitive figures of Sari Dheri with those of very early cultures and a fixing of a label Indo-Sumerian can only be based on apparent resemblances. The outstanding technical feature common to most of the primitive figures from Sari Dheri is the applied and incised eyes. These are present in moulded figures in which their shape has been copied in the mould. These figures are probably contemporary with or only a few decades later than the primitives and can safely be dated not earlier than 50 B.C. Mr. K. de B. Codrington is still engaged in the work of investigating fresh material from the site, and the writer will next spring again be stationed within a few miles of it. Every effort will be made to solve the problem of stratification. In the meanwhile, though suggestions and criticism of these views will be welcome, it is hoped that these terracottas may not pass into general literature on Indian Archaeology in support of any particular theory, but remain *sub judice* until the whole evidence is available.

D. H. GORDON.

<sup>1</sup> Coomaraswami *Archaic Indian Terracottas*. IPEK 1928. Tafel i. Nos. 1-4.

<sup>2</sup> These eyes were applied round and then incised, as may be seen by the presence of a continuation of the incising stroke upon the head adjacent to the eye, and were not formed by applying the lids separately as is suggested by Coomaraswami.

<sup>3</sup> Coomaraswami, *op. cit.* Tafel 6. No. 38.

<sup>4</sup> Codrington: *Some Indian terracotta figures*. (Indian Antiquary. August, 1931) notes the similarity of terracotta figurines from Homs (Syria) to those from Shah-jī-ki-Dheri.

<sup>5</sup> Coomaraswami, *op. cit.*, figs. 5, 6, and 31.

<sup>6</sup> Coomaraswami, *op. cit.*, figs. 5, 6, 17-9, and 22.

**Africa : East.****Williams.****Village Organization among the Sukuma.** *By O. G. Williams, Tanganyika Territory.*

The Ba-Sukuma occupy a large area impinging on the South and South East of Victoria Nyanza in Tanganyika Territory, are mainly Bantu and live under numbers of Chiefs whose clans appear to have originally derived from Ba Hima stock. The people are firstly agriculturists, but take great pride in pastoral pursuits also. 130

Their social organization does not permit of unfettered monarchy in their Chiefs, whose duties appear to have been confined to magico-religious observance within well defined bounds rather than in autocratic governance.

The population is grouped, within the chieftainates, into village areas with definite boundaries occupied by family groups or individuals; the chief appoints a "liaison officer" to each of these subject to the acceptance of the elders of the community concerned, who have the prerogative of demanding withdrawal and replacement of the officer if his duties are not carried out to their reasoned satisfaction.

The elders of both sexes, the young and middle-aged married people, the young unmarried people of both sexes, form the three broad divisions in the organization of the village communities, each village community being a distinct unit self-controlled through its elders.

The elders (Ba-kulu) of whom there are at least two grades, the Ba-chenga, who have brewed 10 pots of beer or more on admission to the order, and Ba-kaburi (of 5 pots of beer), appoint in council, from amongst the more capable and respected younger married men a number of public officers, according to the size of the community. These men are known as Ba-Sumbabatale (sing. Sumbantale).

These are the mouthpieces of the Ba-kulu and their administrative officers in the administration of the community or the publishing of the Chief's instructions as received, *e.g.*, occasionally an aged person needs shelter, the Ba-Sumbabatale sound a rallying call to gather the people together to build a hut for the person.

These orders are enforced by a system of fines in grain, to be brewed into beer and consumed, with a goat, by the elders, their officers, and those members who have obeyed them; should the offender prove recalcitrant he, or she, is ostracized until he complies by handing over the fine. No one will eat with him, speak to or greet him, give him fire, visit him if sick or attend the funeral ceremonies if his wife or child dies, assist to build his hut, or to hoe, harvest or winnow his grain.

When the community is in the field, say during present-day bush reclamation, the Ba-Sumbabatale go with their fellows and act as guardians of the peace and supervise the supplying of food, division of beasts slaughtered, etc., report any offences (ill conduct one to another amongst the workers) to the elders who then arbitrate between, or punish, the delinquents.

Should persons shirk the call to general communal labour on this large scale, *i.e.* outside the village area (such a call would be at the request of the Chief), the Ba-Sumbabatale on return to the village enter the huts of the defaulters and distrain a fine of goats, etc., which are eaten communally; this is called 'ladida' and seems a different sanction to that above mentioned, which is known as 'funyiwa' (?).

Inter family squabbles, assaults and petty crimes are dealt with by the Ba-kulu (elders); even Njigu (compensation) for causing death or murder was settled by this council, the murderer generally taking sanctuary with the Chief's representatives until the matter was arranged and the 'Njigu' handed over to the aggrieved family.

The Ba-Sumbabatale supervise the general administration of the community, allot huts which may be vacant to new-comers provided they are satisfied that the applicant is a desirable addition to the village and has a good reputation from whence he comes; if anything is known in his disfavour they refuse to receive him. If accepted they sound their horns to collect the people to go to his late residence and assist in removing his goods and chattels; those who refuse without good reason to engage in this service are fined. Old people are not expected to turn out.

The elder women, 'Ba-Gikulu,' also select their representatives who are responsible in the same manner for the female community; they are known as 'Bashike Batale' who are appointed from the younger and responsible married women generically known as 'Bashike.' They also use a

peculiar cry which they sound on occasion, *e.g.*, calling the women to communal hoeing, harvesting, etc.

The portion of the Ba Gikulu when meat is divided is the saddle.

The Bashike are those married women who have their own kitchen and who are responsible for providing wood and water for the household. Their portion of the meat is the fore leg. O. G. WILLIAMS.

### Wiltshire: Scarabs.

Engleheart and Newberry.

Two Scarabs found in Wiltshire. *By George Engleheart and Professor P. E. Newberry.*

**131** One of H.M. School Inspectors, Mr. W. E. Wright, of Harnham, Salisbury (a personal friend of my own—G.E.) has endeavoured to interest the masters and pupils of Wiltshire village schools in objects such as flint implements, fossils, coins, etc., picked up locally. A lad who had lately left Shrewton School, four miles from Stonehenge, was employed on the demolition of the Stonehenge aerodrome. In filling up a deep foundation-trench in October 1928, he saw, protruding from the spoil heap excavated from it when the aerodrome was built, a scarab. Thinking it some form of 'Shepherd's Crown' fossil he sent it by his brother to Shrewton School, where it lay unnoticed among other odds and ends on a shelf. Here it was found on 2 December by two inspectors visiting the

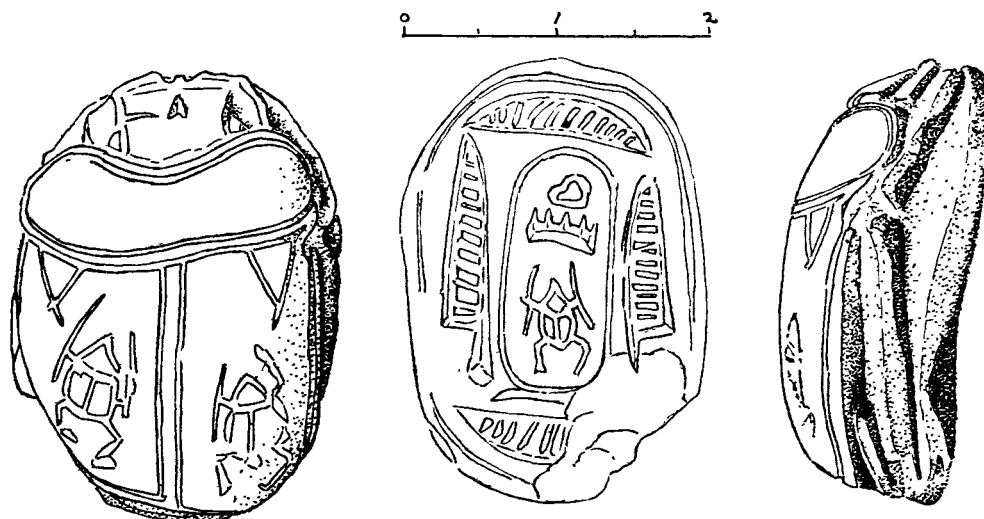


FIG. 1.—FORGED EGYPTIAN SCARAB FOUND IN WILTSHIRE.

school, Dr. J. Leicester and Mr. Wright. The lines on it had been cleaned out and scored rather deeply by the finder with his knife-point, but it had evidently lain in black, burnt material, small cindery particles of which were still visible to myself and the late Dr. H. R. Hall of the British Museum (Fig. 1).

A second scarab (Fig. 2) came to light in the same way in the small school-museum of Ludgershall School when it was inspected by Mr. Wright and a coadjutor, Mr. E. J. Walsh, on 16 July, 1930. It had been unearthed by a boy ferreting for rabbits in Collingbourne Wood on the eastern edge of Salisbury Plain, in October 1928, nearly three feet deep in black soil, which adhered to it when found, but it was played with and rubbed for six weeks before it was given to the schoolmaster, and its underside defaced by scraping with a knife. The boy's story was difficult to verify at first because he had evidently been poaching, but the schoolmaster has no doubt of its truth. Some time afterwards he took Mr. Wright, Mr. R. S. Newall and myself to the spot shown by the boy, but in two years the ground had been much disturbed by rabbits and nothing more was found. A second brass coin of Maxentius was afterwards picked up by the schoolmaster a few yards away. A prehistoric camp, probably of the Early Iron period, is almost within stone's throw.

Both scarabs bear the cartouche of Thothmes III, *circ.* 1500 B.C. But the name of Thothmes III reappeared at all periods after his own, so potent an amulet was his name considered to be, even

"down to the latest times."<sup>1</sup> Dr. Hall, inclined at first to disbelief, on consideration thought they might be genuine, but probably of the twenty-sixth dynasty, *circa* 650-500 B.C. It appears that only one other scarab has been found in Britain, at Alton in Hampshire, in association with Italian brooches of the Italian Early Iron Age, and assigned by Dr. Wallis Budge to that same age. Objects of Mediterranean provenance, such as the well-known faience beads and gold-rimmed amber brooches, have been taken from Wiltshire barrows, and there is no antecedent reason against the importation of scarabs, of which so many thousands were made in Egypt from before 2,000 B.C. into the Ptolemaic period and were abundantly imported and copied throughout South-eastern Europe.

Scarabs bearing the name of Thothmes III are today made for sale in the Cairo bazaars to tourists. One of these, used as a paper-weight, I sent with the two in question to Dr. H. H. Thomas of the

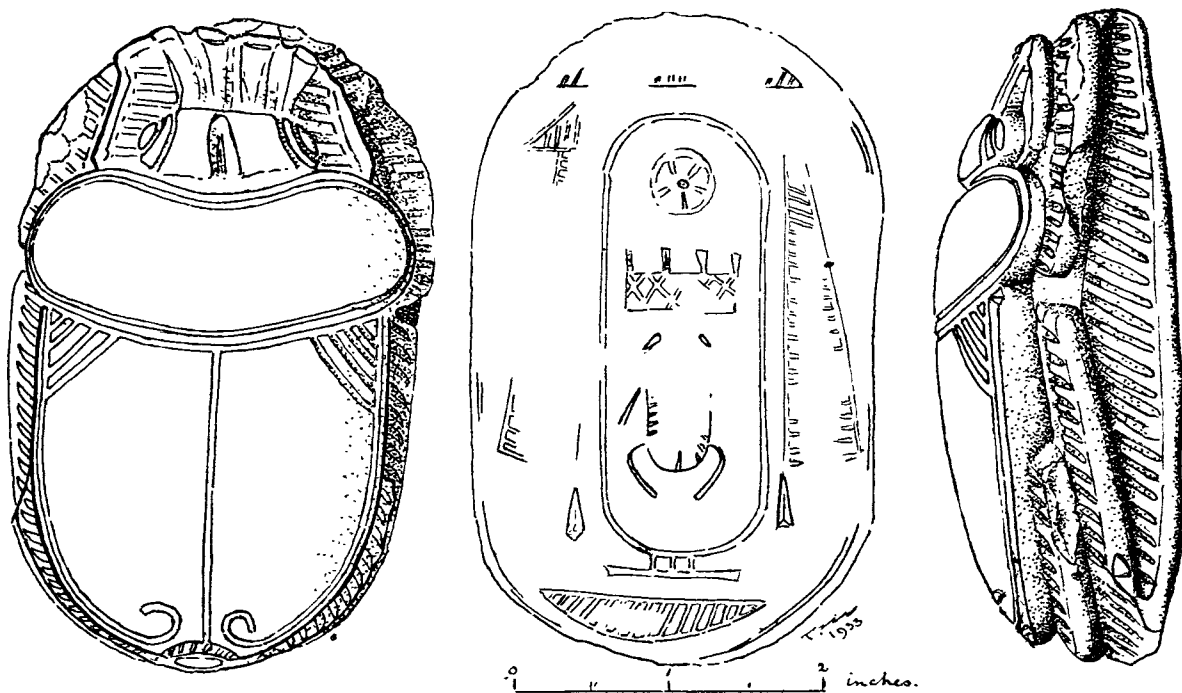


FIG. 2.—FORGED EGYPTIAN SCARAB FOUND IN WILTSHIRE.

Geological Survey. I had thought this to be a plaster cast, but to my surprise he pronounced all three to be "carved out of the native limestone deposit." The Wiltshire examples are therefore not English imitations. Limestone scarabs are said by the authorities to be of late date, but it is a readily obtained and easily worked material.

GEORGE ENGLEHEART.

The Wiltshire finds appear to me to be much more like scarabs that were made in the twenties to thirties of last century by a Kurneh Arab at Thebes. Similar scarabs I saw at Thebes forty years ago, and I was then told that they had been made by a Kurnâwi forger named Adam. The material, limestone, was very rarely employed for making scarabs in ancient times, but during the last hundred years it has often been used for large scarabs of this kind. The modern forger soaks the stone in water to soften it and then carves it with a knife. If these specimens are modern (and I believe they must be) they were probably brought to England by some traveller from Egypt during the years between 1820 and 1860, if not later. The Kurnâwi Adam, I was told, died about 1860: he was the chief forger of antiquities of his time.

PERCY E. NEWBERRY.

Since writing the above I have seen the actual scarabs and am confirmed in my opinion about their being modern forgeries.

P. E. N.

<sup>1</sup> Hall, Brit. Mus. Monograph *Scarabs*.



## ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE : PROCEEDINGS.

**What do we know of Africa?** *Summary of the Presidential Address by Rev. E. W. Smith, 25th June, 1935.*

**132** In his Presidential Address, the Rev. E. W. Smith sought an answer to the question : What do we know of Africa and its inhabitants to-day ? If we sweep aside all that is hypothetical and speculative, all the *must-have-beens* with which we fill our gaps, what remains of solid ascertained fact ?

Beginning with geography, he reviewed our knowledge in regard to the geology and climate, past and present, the stone ages, ancient man, physical anthropology (including blood-groups), languages, demography and history : and finally glanced at the principal literature with a view to discovering how far the present cultures of Africa have been studied and what remains to be done. Mr. Smith explained that in the course of preparation his address had expanded to the dimensions of a book and in the time available he was able only to read extracts from it. He concluded that the answer to the question, 'What do we know of Africa ?' could be summed up in a few words : 'Very little as yet.' Whatever department is examined, the tale is much the same. Only the surface of things has been scratched hitherto. But it is something to see the immensity of the task confronting us if we are to gain sure knowledge of Africa and its inhabitants.

**Dr. Haddon's Eightieth Birthday.**

**133** On May 24th, Dr. Haddon attained his eightieth birthday. To celebrate this occasion, Mr. Louis Clarke gave a tea-party in the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, to which the large number of Dr. Haddon's friends were invited who had subscribed to the fund raised to print, mount, and house in a cabinet, Dr. Haddon's vast collection of ethnographic photographs. The "Haddon Photographic Collection" will remain permanently in the Museum and form the nucleus of photographic material to which anyone may contribute.

Professor Seligman, who made the presentation, said that few had not profited by Dr. Haddon's writings and spoken words, or been stimulated by the extraordinary energy of his "dear friend and teacher." It was this same energy which had organized the Torres Straits Expedition, of which present-day field-workers were the spiritual children, and which enabled him still to continue to produce the results of his meticulous research. During the present year he has placed in the hands of the University Press the final volume of the *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, and his great memoir on the *Canoes of Oceania* is ready for publication. Professor Seligman also spoke of the museum with which Dr. Haddon is so closely associated. His skill, combined with that of Louis Clarke, an ideal curator, had produced an exhibition of New Guinea cultures not to be found elsewhere. The museum had a world-wide reputation which was rapidly increasing. Finally, Professor Seligman said that all Dr. Haddon's friends regretted that Mrs. Haddon was unable to be present, as it was almost as much her day as it was Dr. Haddon's, for so much had depended on her.

Dr. Haddon replied : "While I feel honoured by your presence and by the generosity of many of you, I am at the same time deeply touched by the

"expressions of affection that I have received. It is gratifying to my pride to have my life's work appreciated, but it is with humility that I acknowledge personal tribute as man to man. For some forty years I have collected ethnographical photographs, and I had despaired of ever being able to find time or energy to put them and my collections of negatives in order. It was a happy thought to remedy this, and by the generosity of Louis Clarke and that of the numerous friends, the reduction of chaos into order has been accomplished by the devoted labour of Miss Nicol Smith. Thanks are also due to Mr. H. F. Bird, who has acted as treasurer of the fund and to others who have helped in various ways, and most especially to Louis Clarke. The result you now see before you in the cabinet containing the well-arranged and catalogued photographs. I may add that there is scarcely anything which could have given me greater pleasure than this presentation. I am assured that this notable gift is made to me personally to do with as I will, but what does a retired old man want with the hundreds of photographs which I have accumulated and which have been given me by friends, including the hundreds which have been sent to me during the past few days from various parts of Europe and America ? The only obvious course for me is immediately to hand over the photographs to the Board of Archaeology and Ethnology, to be available unrestrictedly for instruction and research, and the negatives for the free use of other institutions or of serious students.

"When I look around at this wonderful museum I cannot but help recalling what it owes to the foresight, knowledge, and personal service of Baron Anatole von Hügel. We who saw him working in a tiny, insanitary back room in the Museum of Classical Archaeology, with no space in which to deal with the acquisitions when he was cataloguing them, and with very limited space

" in the museum for their exhibition, can but regret  
 " that he was not spared to see the full fruition of  
 " his labours in the new museum, the funds for  
 " which he was mainly instrumental in raising.  
 " The collections are increasing at such a rate that  
 " more exhibition galleries are even now needed and,  
 " indeed, if we do not begin to build soon we may  
 " lose even that restricted vacant area which is  
 " now available for that purpose.

" The initiative for a Department of Ethnology  
 " in the University was due to the driving force of  
 " Professor Sir William Ridgeway, a man whose  
 " wide learning and enthusiasm stimulated genera-  
 " tions of students.

" The debt that we all owe to those two men  
 " should never be forgotten, for it is largely due to  
 " them that the present thriving Department of  
 " Archaeology and Ethnology has become possible."

Mr. Clarke read a letter from Sir James Frazer and thanked Dr. Haddon for his gift. It was the second time that the University had been indebted to him for a really important gift, as, when he retired from the Readership in Ethnology he presented to the museum his collection of lantern-slides which formed a series unrivalled in the Empire. His wonderful collection of photographs would be available for students from all parts of the world.

Sir James Frazer wrote: "I desire to associate  
 " myself most heartily with the presentation which  
 " is to be made to my old friend Dr. Haddon on the  
 " auspicious occasion of his eightieth birthday. He  
 " has well deserved this token of esteem from the

" wide circle of his many friends, for he has rendered  
 " great and lasting services to anthropology, not  
 " only as a skilful leader in the field, but also as a  
 " writer of high authority and as a teacher who has  
 " inspired his pupils with the same scientific  
 " enthusiasm with which he is himself animated.  
 " By this rare combination of gifts and achieve-  
 " ments he has made Cambridge a centre of anthro-  
 " pological research, which now radiates its influence  
 " to the ends of the earth and will doubtless long  
 " continue to bear fruit from the good seed sown  
 " by Dr. Haddon. The many volumes of the *Reports*  
 " of the *Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to*  
 " *Torres Straits*, which Dr. Haddon planned and  
 " successfully conducted in person, will always be a  
 " solid monument of his anthropological fame. Very  
 " little, indeed, was known about the islands of  
 " Torres Straits before Dr. Haddon and his col-  
 " leagues landed in the islands. Now, thanks to his  
 " own and their devoted labours, we possess as  
 " full and accurate a record of these natives as, in  
 " all the circumstances of the case, it was possible  
 " to obtain, and the Reports of the expedition have  
 " long taken their place among the classics of  
 " anthropology. The many pupils of Dr. Haddon  
 " rejoice to know that in his eightieth year he  
 " enjoys excellent health and carries on his anthro-  
 " pological work with all the zest and ardour of  
 " youth. On this auspicious occasion they unite in  
 " wishing that he may long continue to prosecute  
 " his researches and to crown with fresh laurels the  
 " work of a life untiringly devoted to the pursuit of  
 " science and of truth."

## REVIEWS.

**The Desert Fayum:** By G. Caton-Thompson and E. W. Gardner. London, Royal Anthropological Institute, 1934. 2 Vols. Vol. I, 134 text iv, 160 pp. Vol. II, 114 plates, including 6 coloured maps. Price 30s.

It has been said that good writing is the prerogative of students of the humanities and that when a scientist tries to write up his results his text may be packed full of facts but makes unattractive reading. Let those who have such views read this book, for prehistoric archaeology is very much to be classed with the scientific group of studies, yet here is a work where every word has its due significance and where nothing could have been left out without damage to the clear-cut, logical account of three seasons' research in the Fayum. Indeed, there are times when a single rightly used word conveys what a less gifted writer might have taken a sentence to explain (e.g., p. 10, note 2). Miss Caton-Thompson has already published accounts of her valuable research work elsewhere; the present volumes will, if possible, still further enhance her reputation. To her geological colleague, Miss Gardner, high praise must also be accorded, especially as she has been able to see her views (which were at one time dismissed by some fellow geologists) triumphantly vindicated by subsequent boring operations in the alluvium of the Hawara Channel.

Of the two volumes one is exclusively devoted to plates, the other to text. The former contains both half-tones and line-blocks, made from drawings, of artifacts as well as general views of the sites and a series of contoured maps showing the heights of the lake in the Fayum depression at various times. This is a feature of special interest to the student.

The admixture of photographs and drawings of the tools is very happy, for while there is no doubt that a photograph of a group of stone tools shows in general what they look like, yet for revelation of detail the photograph is almost always hopeless. Thus on plate XLIX no details as to the kind of blunting along the backs of the microliths can be made out, yet the general appearance is of value to the student, and the previous line-block (XLVIII) gives all the required detail. The same can be said of the concavo-convex knives (XLIII and XLIV). The page references after each caption save the reader much trouble.

The text is divided into two distinct parts—the prehistoric and historic. It opens with an introduction giving an account of the three expeditions, their aims and objects. There were difficulties put in the way which perhaps ought not to have been allowed to exist. It is better, however, to forget these and to remember how much it is to the credit of the investigators that, in spite of them,

such important work was accomplished. Next follows a geological account of the district by Miss Gardner. Briefly she believes that an old high-level lake of pleistocene age dried out completely, and then rose again when renewed contact with the then aggrading Nile took place. Later the connecting link between the river and lake silted up with the result that the latter began to fall again, and continued to do so, there being a number of stationary stages of secondary importance, until to-day nothing remains but the shrunken Birket Qarun. It was soon after the second lake was formed—less in extent than the first, but still very considerable in size—that the first Neolithic inhabitants came to live by its shores (Neolithic A). Their industries were rich and included the well-known concave-base arrow-heads, pressure-chipped knives, etc. Pottery was made and there is direct evidence for the practice of agriculture in the finding of straw-lined granaries. Miss Caton-Thompson, by the way, is not prepared to subscribe to the view that emmer wheat must have been an introduction from Palestine until much further investigation in the Nile basin has been undertaken. Two main Neolithic villages were discovered and are described in detail.

Following on the Neolithic A phase the lake sank somewhat and a new culture (Neolithic B) appears. Judging by its industries it was much inferior to its forerunner. Certain kinds of tools, too, rare before, now appear commonly, *i.e.*, celtiform types, concave-convex knives and, above all, simple microliths. Miss Caton-Thompson is inclined to believe that B is not a direct development, or rather degeneration of A. She envisages the intrusion of persisting Mesolithic tribes whose influence was responsible for the throw-back in culture. This is an interesting suggestion postulating, as it does, an overlap between such Mesolithic cultures with others already in a Neolithic stage of development. That such overlaps have occurred throughout prehistoric times is certain; that too little account has been taken of them by prehistorians is equally indubitable.

A predynastic settlement near Qasr Qarun next comes under review. It is considered to be Gerzean in date (S.D. 40-50). As certain of the pointed blades seem to be similar to those dated by Petrie to S.D. 46-63, such dating may well be correct. A number of surface sites are next described and then come notes on the sources whence the materials for tool-making were obtained. The prehistoric section concludes with an epitome and synopsis of the Fayum Neolithic period. Comparisons with finds at Deir Tasa, at Badari, and at Merimde are made. While differences occur (some of them clearly due to the somewhat specialized life led by the lake-side) there is a general similarity found in the industries at all four sites.

The Historic period can also be correlated with the levels of the now dwindling lake. An account is given of the Old Kingdom settlements and the flint work found, also of the temple Qasr-es-Sagha. The gypsum works at Umm-es-Sawan are also described. Finally, the Ptolemaic irrigation system

is discussed, it being urged that the view that the lake was used as a reservoir for Egypt is not tenable, and that the irrigation was solely for local purposes.

How can the poor reviewer with the limited space at his disposal hope to deal with such a detailed account of the important work that has been carried out covering, as it does, such a wide field? Even as it is Miss Caton-Thompson has omitted all reference to her work on the older pleistocene lake shore lines where Levalloisean and later Middle Stone Age industries were found. She states that not enough work was done to warrant its inclusion, yet not a little was actually accomplished.

These two volumes are, of course, a necessity for any student interested in those dim eras when mankind was just learning to practise the art of agriculture—surprisingly it seems little attention was paid even by the Neolithic folk to the domestication of animals—and Miss Caton-Thompson is indeed to be congratulated on having produced a work which must become a classic for all those who want to know how a prehistoric research should be conducted and the results given to the light of day.

M. C. BURKITT.

#### ARCHÆOLOGY.

**Tell el-Amarna.** By John Pendlebury. London, 1935. xxiv + 175 pp. 6s.

**135** Recent archaeological discoveries have been so surprisingly plentiful and so brilliant that they have become 'news' in the transatlantic sense. The general reader must often want to know something of the machinery of these discoveries, and this book is the first of a popular series designed to fill his want. It contains an account of all the work done at Tell el-Amarna down to that of the latest expeditions under the Egypt Exploration Society, of which the author was himself the leader and thus in the best position to review the work.

The account is clear and succinct and presents a view of archaeological field-work which has not before been available in so handy a form. The nicety to which modern archaeological methods have been brought and the laborious care often entailed are well exemplified, a good instance being in the recovering of pictures on the plaster of walls which had long before fallen down. The author voices his own conclusions and provides an indication of how excavations may help to construct or modify history—a process beset with many risks, as he clearly recognizes.

The period dealt with is of high human interest in both art and religion, and it might have been preferable to allot more space to these aspects than has been done; the author has rightly repudiated the exuberant sentimentality which has accompanied some accounts of the Aten heresy, but he has given too much weight to the feminine influences supposed to have actuated its founder and too little to his remarkable personality. In art, for example, while the change to a naturalistic style is duly explained, little attention has been given to the outstanding individuality so characteristically manifested in Akhenaton's Theban statues.

Some criticisms of detail are: p. 132, "quartz" as a material for large statues should be "quartzite"; p. 133, Nefertiti's painted bust shows her to have been afflicted with cataract. The revolution in tomb-decoration was great indeed, but did not reach the extremes implied;

for example, in Part II of Davies's 'Tell el-Amarna,' p. 16, a prayer is recorded for the perpetuation of tomb-rites by the children of the deceased, and in Pl. xxiii, he is depicted at the usual funerary banquet with his family; such scenes are rare, but show that the old notions of the After-life still survived. In general, there is an occasional tendency to chattiness, rather out of harmony with the whole, and liable to introduce small irrelevancies.

The illustrations are mostly too small, quantity having seemingly the preference over the quality of usefulness; similarly the small scale of the plans makes some of the words all but illegible and has caused the omission of others. The illustration of one of the Theban statues in Pl. vi is quite inadequate to convey its true significance.

On p. xvii the old uncertainty about the Arabic name of the place appears again. In the late nineties, I found the name used by the villagers to be 'Tell el Amarna,' and heard nothing of 'Et-Till'—perhaps that is a local pronunciation which I did not catch. The *Omdich* (headman) of Haggi Qandil explained who the Amarna were, and Mr. Pendlebury's account agrees with his. In any case, 'Et-Till-el-Amarna' is quite impossible: the question might be settled definitely, if some Arabic scholar, preferably an Egyptian with a knowledge of dialects, were to examine it on the spot. G. D. H.

**Die Anfänge der Weltgeschichte.** By Fritz Kern. Berlin & Leipzig (Teubner), 1933. 8vo. 150 pp. Price 4 marks. **136**

This useful little book is a revision of a series of articles in *Arch. f. Kulturgeschichte*, 1932; themselves a sequel to the author's *Stammbaum und Artbild der Deutschen und ihrer Vorfahren* (1927), which developed ideas mainly derived from Graebner, Pater Schmidt, and Menghin. Essentially it is a summary guide to Menghin's *Weltgeschichte der Steinzeit* (1930), to which there are page-references throughout; but it contains also many corrections and some frank criticism. Introductory sections on the technique of prehistoric study as the 'historical' school of ethnologists practise it, and an analysis (at the end) of recent theories about Indo-European origins, repay careful reading. This essay should now be compared with the relevant sections of Menghin's *Geist und Blut*, 1933, and with Pater Schmidt's introductory chapter in Eyre's *European Civilisation, its Origin and Development*, I, 1934. J. L. M.

**Measures and Weights.** By Sir Flinders Petrie. London: Methuen, 1934. Sm. 8vo, x + 22 pp. Price 2s. net. **137**

Even now, some excavators overlook ancient weights, through lack of interest in metrology, and in the movements of intercourse which weights and measures subserve. Great nonsense has been written about them, which Sir Flinders Petrie has done much in the past to dispel; but there are some hard sayings here too, already familiar from his own earlier writings. The student should use this outline in connection with the author's larger 'Ancient Weights and Measures' and with the collection of Egyptian weights which he organized at University College, London. J. L. M.

**Iraq.** A half-yearly journal published by the British School of Archaeology in Iraq. London, 2 Hinde Street, W.1. Imperial octavo. Vol. I, 1933. **138** iv + 196 pp. With 27 plates and many illustrations in text. Price 18s. net; to subscribers to the B.S.A., Iraq., 10s.

The British School of Archaeology in Iraq was founded as a memorial to the late Gertrude Bell and promotes

or subsidizes expeditions and excavation. It has now established, with a subsidy from the British Academy, a much-needed journal for archaeology and kindred studies in Iraq. The first volume, in half-yearly parts, is now complete, admirably printed and illustrated, and covering a very wide range of topics in fifteen articles by well-known experts. Concentrating its resources on original work, it eschews reviews, correspondence, and other ephemeral matter. One communication by Professor Giuseppe Furlani is in Italian, one by Drs. Andrae and Gordon in German, the remainder in English, though the writers include well-known foreign colleagues. The new journal deserves the heartiest welcome and wide support. J. L. M.

## AFRICA.

**A Hausa-English Dictionary and English-Hausa Vocabulary.** Compiled for the Government of Nigeria by the Rev. G. P. Bargey. Oxford University Press, 1934. 1,226 pp. Price 25s. **139**

This work was undertaken at the instance of Sir Hugh Clifford who left Nigeria as long ago as 1925. Canon Robinson's Hausa dictionary had done yeoman service for upwards of a quarter of a century, but it was felt that in a British Protectorate, containing at least 5,000,000 Hausa-speaking people, the time had come for a fuller and more scientific work. This the new dictionary can claim to be, but whether it is as good as it might have been, considering the amount of time and money spent on it, is another matter.

The Introduction includes some notes on the Hausa people and their language by Professor Westermann. In these he says that the term 'al Hausin' used by Ibn Saïd to designate a tribe living to the west of Lake Chad corresponds to a modern term Aussa, "reported as sometimes found now in use among people of the Chad basin, and in particular as used among people living on the Eastern shore to denote the people living on the Western side. It can be argued from this that the ancestors of the Hausas were people who lived in those times further East than do the Hausas of to-day, as is the view of Nachtigal." It is difficult to follow this argument. The word Ausa is used as far East as Abyssinia and as far West as Timbuktu. Nor is the opinion of Nachtigal of much importance nowadays. A more cogent argument for the Easterly to Westerly spread of Hausa would be the fact that in North Eastern Nigeria, remote from Hausaland, many of the local languages contain characteristic Hausa words and some also show signs of grammatical gender.

In speaking of the Islamization of Hausaland, Professor Westermann states that "the Hausas themselves attribute the introduction of Islam to one Maghili (c. 1500 A.D.)." But the Kano Chronicle quite definitely ascribes the introduction of Islam to a band of forty Wangarawa who came from Melle to Kano between 1350 and 1385, under the leadership of one Abdurahaman. And there are several other references in the Chronicle to the spread of Islam in Hausaland prior to 1500 A.D.

Hausa is always classed as a Hamitic language, but Professor Westermann has to admit that "it would appear true to assume the existence of a basic Negro 'stock.'" It is most certainly true, on grounds of vocabulary alone, as the present reviewer pointed out many years ago. Incidentally it is extraordinary that in the lengthy introduction to this dictionary, no reference is made to the fact that a form of Hausa is spoken by the Gwandara, a pagan tribe of Northern Nigeria. This language should have been carefully examined if only

to determine how far it displays so-called Hamitic characteristics.

In the compiler's Introduction it is stated that the system of orthography adopted is that recommended by a Committee appointed by the Government of Nigeria, in consultation with Professor Westermann. It is not stated, however, that the work of compiling the dictionary had been in progress for a very considerable time before any decision had been reached regarding the system of orthography. The orthography finally adopted can hardly be regarded as satisfactory as it does not follow the well-recognized International System and owing to the insufficiency of the symbols used, particularly for the vowel sounds, it is not always easy and is often impossible to know how a word should be pronounced.

As regards the Dictionary itself an immense amount of new material with many interesting illustrations is presented. It cannot be said, however, that the work is always scholarly. Under the word *sawani*, for example, which is said to mean "a freed slave," we are given the following illustrative sentence, "Allah ya sa mu a 'sawani watan nan," and this is rendered "God grant that we may be amongst those who are predestinated to obtain deliverance from hell which will be granted this month." But the Hausa words merely amount to "May Allah grant us freedom this month." There is nothing about predestination or hell. Again the phrase "ya kai kallo" merely means "he attracted attention" not "he attracted attention by his resplendent appearance." Another example of prolixity and obscurity is "ya kawo aggai," which is rendered "Well-clothed and on a well-caparisoned horse he galloped towards us (but only used when the horseman is in company)!" The word *amata* is said to be "applied to anything which is considered symmetrical (i.e., length not greatly in excess of breadth; height not greatly in excess of base)." But why not say simply *amata* = symmetrical?

Many words with a simple single meaning are shown as though they had many different meanings. Thus *abokin wasa* is said to be: (1) playmate; (2) cousin; (3) younger brother of one's wife; (4) grandparent, and so on. Actually *abokin wasa* means nothing more than playmate, but certain classes of relatives are treated as playmates. One might just as well define "enemy" in an English dictionary as: (1) foe; (2) German; (3) most mothers-in-law! Again the word *baki* is said to be: (1) black; (2) very dark green; (3) very dark blue, as if it had three separate meanings. Actually it means nothing more than dark.

In other cases the description given is inadequate or wrong. Thus *acca* (which should be written *aca*) is said to be "an important cereal." Actually it is *Digitaria exilis* millet. *Faye* does not mean "to be characterized by," but "to be excessive." Other unhappy renderings are *bori* = devil possession (instead of spirit possession) and *maye ya kama shi* = "devils have seized his spirit" instead of "a witch has taken hold of him." There are also strange omissions of commonplace words such as *fu'du* = four (though the form *hu'du* is given).

But errors and omissions are inevitable in a large work of this character, and on the whole it must be admitted that the dictionary marks a great step forward in the study of the Hausa language and will be indispensable to all students of Hausa. The promised Hausa grammar by Captain R. C. Abraham (who collaborated for some time with Mr. Bargery in the preparation of the dictionary) may also be expected to throw much fresh light on the structure of Hausa and its relation to other Hamitic as well as Sudanic languages.

C. K. MEEK.

## Egypt and Negro Africa: A Study in Divine Kingship.

**140** The Frazer Lecture for 1933, delivered in the University of Liverpool on the 30th November, 1933. By C. G. Seligman, M.D., F.R.S. George Routledge & Sons, 1934. Price 3s. 6d.

The subject chosen for last year's Frazer lecture was particularly appropriate both to Sir James Frazer and to the lecturer, Professor Seligman. For divine kingship is the *leit-motif* of The Golden Bough, and Professor Seligman, from his own researches in Africa, had become a special authority on the subject.

Professor Seligman approaches the question from the diffusional point of view and presents us with a picture of divine kingship in Africa in modern times, the data including a good deal of material collected recently in the Nilotic region and in West Africa. He begins by drawing a distinction between 'divine kings' and 'priest-kings,' the former being man-god rulers who were ceremonially killed (or exposed themselves to the chance of death or else feigned to die), while the latter were rulers responsible for the health of the community who were not killed or got rid of in any ceremonial manner when they grew old. This distinction may be convenient, but it is not clear why kings who were put to death should be called divine, while their more fortunate brethren should be merely priests. How are we to class rulers who would be put to death ceremonially if a drought or some other grave misfortune overtook the community, but were allowed to live if all went well? And are there not numerous instances in Africa and elsewhere of priests being killed with some degree of ceremony because of misfortunes which were ascribed to their neglect or deliberate ill-will?

Professor Seligman goes on to refer to the general question of Egyptian influence in Negro Africa and discusses the route by which this may have been spread. Incidentally he mentions a feature of Egyptian ceremony, viz., the discharge of arrows by the Pharaoh towards the four cardinal points, which is paralleled in the Kitara custom of the king shooting the 'nations' at his coronation. Professor Seligman scarcely doubts that this rite is derived from the Egyptian *sed* festival, but he is careful to add that, given the use of the bow, there is no more obvious mode for the king symbolically to assert his sovereignty. The present reviewer has recorded a similar practice among the Kanakuru of Nigeria, the chief firing an arrow at an imaginary foe during an annual festival which does not seem to display any other features of the Egyptian *sed*.

A summary is next given of recent data relating to divine kingship among the Dinka and Nuer, the Konde of Nyasaland, the Bakitara and Banyankole of Uganda, the Jukun, Igala, and other tribes of Nigeria, and the Bambara of the French Sudan. In most of the instances the king is identified with the crops, but among the cattle-owning Bakitara he is identified with milk.

It appears that, in some groups, mere senescence was considered a sufficient reason for killing the king. Among the Bambara, for instance, when the king begins to show signs of age, the people use the expression: "The grass is beginning to whiten," with a sinister meaning. The presumption is, that the decline in the king's physical powers entails a corresponding decline in the vigour of the crops. It would have been interesting if the lecturer had had time to discuss the relation of this belief to the other African conception that old age is evidence of a powerful indwelling *mana*. An illustration of this conception is given on page 31, where it is said of the Mashona chief: "He must have eaten much strong medicine, being so old."

Professor Seligman's general conclusion is, that the

divine kings of the Sudan and West Africa are not directly due to Egyptian influence, but rather are examples of an old widespread Hamitic belief. Nevertheless he notes that the quality of the institution in West Africa conforms closely to the Egyptian agricultural pattern and that in the Sudan and elsewhere a number of specifically Egyptian rites, such as the *sed* ceremony, appear to have become attached to the institution. This seems to be a fair statement of the facts as at present known, but some may object that the whole complex of ideas characterized as divine kingship had a wide range in the ancient world, and that the description 'Hamitic' means nothing in particular.

C. K. MEEK.

**A Brief Review of the History and Social Organisations of the Peoples of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast.** By Capt. St. J. Eyre-Smith. *Gold Coast*, 1933. Price 1s. **141**

This is rather a difficult pamphlet to review. Its main lines of thought seem sound enough, but in detail the historical portion, pp. 1-15, is somewhat lacking in

precision and contains many assertions or suggestions for which no proof is offered; as for instance that the name Moshi is a corruption of Imoshagh, or that the Moshi language called Moli is connected with the Roman name for certain Berber-speaking peoples, viz., Mauri. The author does not seem to be quite aware what the Kalsina Kingdom (Kasena) was and is, as he treats seriously some "contention that the Kasenas (sic) came from the Singhois Emperor, and earlier still came under "Egyptian influence."

All historical study is much to be commended, and if the work encourages some of the author's fellow students to verify his assertions and correct his mistakes, the book will have served a useful purpose—but one is a little surprised that the Gold Coast Government printed the historical portion without revision.

The part about Religion and Social Organisation is better because it is derived, in part at all events, from first-hand information. It is a brief synopsis of facts or factors which, if not novel, are worth recording in convenient form.

The pamphlet is really an exercise or essay, not a text book in any sense.

H. R. PALMER.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

**Indian Census Report:** cf. MAN, 1935, 16.

SIR,—I am somewhat surprised at the terms in which Dr. Hutton answers my criticisms of his recent *Indian Census Report* [MAN, 1935, 16]. Dr. Hutton, like other Census Commissioners, has chosen to display his taste in ethnological theory; and there is admittedly a place for theory in science. However, a Census Report is primarily a corpus of facts, and the game is up when the theoriser has to confess that "there is no evidence" for half the area he is reviewing. Dr. Hutton may persist in his unwillingness to admit that anthropology is a branch of biology, but he cannot pretend that a discussion of race and racial make-up is anything but biological. Man is a living organism and, like all living things, is subject to variation in a changing environment. Only upon this premise can a proper understanding of the admittedly academic problem of the relationship of the individual, the variety and the true species be arrived at, an understanding which is our inheritance from the great Victorians. The solution of the problem is another matter. So is the attainment of understanding of the living creature, as it exists after its kind, in the real world, for which the closed atmosphere of the laboratory is so poor a substitute. Science, in any case, does not exist to provide the easiest answer or to set up an attractive theory, but to state the facts and to correlate them. A scientific fact is clearly "that which is the case." Since man exists by breeding, nature and nurture here govern the case; and these are biological matters.

I am sorry that Dr. Hutton is denied access to the authorities I quoted, although I can hardly believe that the Proceedings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh have been passed over in the Calcutta University Library, and must, furthermore, point out that Dr. Zuckerman's paper, which ably summarises the trend of expert opinion I drew attention to, is an official publication of the Madras Government for which Dr. Hutton has only to ask. The point I wished to make is that Dr. Hutton's particular brand of theory is largely based on linguistic evidence; which, incidentally, is rejected by such an excellent authority as Sir Edward Gait. Dr. Hutton seeks support for his ideas from the opinions of certain field-anthropometrists, neglecting utterly extant craniometrical opinion. For the moment, leaving the question of the interpretation of results on one side, craniometry

may be accepted as a more or less exact science; it measures from recognisable points in an intelligibly communicable manner. Field-anthropometry, working on the living, measures almost entirely from obscure points in a disputable manner which depends for its definition upon an estimation of pressure: it is at the best, an affair of apostolic succession, and the results of the various schools are not intercomparable. What I have pointed out is that Dr. Hutton has sought support for an essentially linguistic theory of race, which is in itself out of date, by choosing less certain evidence where less uncertain evidence was available.

Dr. Hutton says that he found it possible to go into a big class-room and pick out Brahmins "solely by the shape of their faces," etc. Most of us can distinguish the peoples we have to do with in our own special areas, but how it is done is another question. I, personally, fail to correlate the fact that I can with some confidence pick out Mang Garudis in a Deccan bazaar with the means and standard deviations that my laborious anthropometric exertions provide me with. For one thing the Mang Garudis are admittedly a bastard people. What is one identifying—race, local variation, or a totality of personal impressions? In any case, if Dr. Hutton believes that racial difference is the cause of the visual difference of his South Indian Brahmins, he must go further and define what he means by *race*. Not only must he make it clear what it is he is talking about (*i.e.*, whether he has in mind a true genetic sub-species, or a locally conditioned variety, or a mere type the result of geographically restricted cross-breeding), but he must, also, indicate the evidence upon which he makes his distinctions. What is the evidence? By what standards of criticism are we to test our hypotheses? Can race be defined without reference to such astonishing biological facts as the colour polymorphism of the arctic fox and the variation of *Rana esculenta* along the Mediterranean littoral?

Dr. Hutton accuses me of putting forward views leading "to the dilemma, either that craniometry is worth "less as a test of race, or that the material on which his "view is based is entirely insufficient." There is no dilemma, for there can be no place in science for a theory based on insufficient evidence; and, in any case, want of material can be rectified by research. Nor is anthropometry to be rejected by its failure to distinguish

the races postulated in the text-books on linguistic or archaeological evidence, but by features of the method itself. more or less exactly with skeletal material, suffers from a paucity of subjects and from want of exact knowledge as to the identity of the subjects available. Anthropometry on the living displays variability in the method used itself, since it suffers from a seemingly unavoidable obscurity concerning the points between which measurements are made. In both studies, it is usually held that the general morphology, or look of the skull or head in question, should be given careful consideration. The whole is to be studied as it is found, not merely as it is reported in print as a mere series of measurements. Hence attempts have been made to work upon "look" apart from measurements, attempts varying from the Galton composite photographic method to Dr. von Eickstedt's classification of "types" recognised in the field. The influence of statistics upon the general theory of physical anthropology, I can here only touch upon. In many ways, in ideals as well as in quality of thought, the two disciplines differ. I doubt whether the difficulties that permeate the definition of the word "race" can be made clear to anyone who has not done a certain amount of dissection and worked through, at least, one of the larger and more diffuse genera. It is not a question of facts, but of acquiring an insight into the psychological problems of classification. Here it is not what the scientist knows, but what he sets out to do, that alters the case. The statistician accepts his facts. The biologist seeks to distil understanding from them, remembering that science, like everything else, is a matter of experience, and that experience has its limitations. For instance, the statement of the mathematical error ordinarily attached to the means reported does not absolve the research worker from stating *his own working error*. Our calipers are calibrated to one millimetre, yet frequently means of small samples are worked to .01 millimetre, the reason being that the difference between the means for even clearly distinct peoples is so very small. In spite of this, few field-workers have taken the trouble to estimate and state their own personal errors in taking measurements between certain debatable points. If the Facial Height of a series of subjects is repeatedly taken on different days, variations of 2.00 millimetres will occur. Moreover, physiological variation is left unaccounted for. The Upper Facial Height of a man with pyorrhoea is not comparable with that of a normal subject; total stature taken in the morning and after a hard day's work varies, as weight obviously does before and after an evacuation. Rickets and venereal disease leave their mark. No amount of statistical ingenuity can overcome this two-fold error, personal and physiological. Moreover, the use of complicated mathematical formulæ arrived at by adding coefficients for different characteristics, raises its own problems. First of all, the number of different measurements taken must be large if mathematical validity is to be assumed; yet it is difficult to compile a long list of specific measurements which may be taken with absolute accuracy on the living. Secondly, how exactly does this additive process tally with the traditional and accepted methods of identifying order, tribe, genus, species and variety used by the botanist and zoologist, whom we are seeking to emulate in exactness? Can statistical computation, upon the evidence merely of measurements, distinguish between *Hibiscus hirtus* and *Hibiscus micranthus*, or add opinion that the latter may be former? What is the end in view? What do we expect to be left with when the computation is done? Obviously we are seeking an indication of some sort of difference.

It is, in any case, clear that until we put ourselves in a position to appreciate ecologically the distribution and habitat of the peoples we are dealing with, following in the footsteps of the modern botanist and zoologist, we shall be unable to clear our minds as to the interaction of nature and nurture that lies behind the differences we are seeking to establish.

As for distinctions based upon a single characteristic, long-headedness or round-headedness, all such discussion is as meaningless as the theories based upon it. If the so-called 'negrito' type of hair was proved to occur all over India, we should merely have to ask ourselves why the typical Andamanese 'negrito' skull form is not to be found, instead of complacently accepting a solitary secondary characteristic as proof of racial affinity.

In grappling with these problems, we must, first of all, admit the need of an exact terminology. We must know 'peoples' before we talk of 'races.' On what evidence does Dr. Hutton state that the Reddi, Vellala and Kapu are "probably closely related"? They would not admit it themselves; they do not intermarry; their traditions are in many ways distinct. In point of fact, have any of these people ever been studied over the whole area of their distribution? Here, in the matter of identification of peoples and re-classification of official nomenclature, we are approaching a much-to-be-desired work, which might very properly fall within the sphere of investigation of a Census Commissioner. In fact, it is, as things are, necessary to ask, not only what does the field-anthropometrist's trusting use of caste-names actually amount to, but what does the Census *mean* when it reports so many thousands of Mhars, or Kunbis, or Reddis? Are they people of one stock, socially and genetically? Or does Kunbi and Reddi only mean what the words actually *do* mean, simply *one who cultivates*? Conversely, it is known that in the old gazetteers, compiled for administrative purposes, one and the same caste was liable to be inscribed by different names in different districts. If the Kaikadi, Korwa, Korcha and Yerkala are one people, as they are, how many other minor castes have been wrongfully divorced on paper for Census purposes? In any case, the question must be asked: What do Indian caste-names mean with reference to race?

In questions such as these, I have advocated elsewhere that abstract, semi-literary and wholly arbitrary definitions of the Portuguese word *Caste* should be jettisoned, and that the anthropologist should confine his preliminary studies to definite communities, first of all taking pains to arrive at the exact area of their distribution. Inter-marriageability is the significant fact in all questions of unity or disparity of caste. For every caste in any one village a marriage-area can be arrived at by means of the genealogical method. In that area the society under examination is unequivocally both what it calls itself and what it is. If a series of such areas could be defined for the most important castes, we should know what we are at present ignorant of, *i.e.*, whether they are homogeneous or disparate throughout their distribution. Moreover, such groups being in-bred are ethnically concrete. Here whatever racial factors exist will inevitably appear in the breeding, and the variation of type may be estimated. Most important of all, in such clearly defined fields of research, the environment may be examined in detail and environmental difference comprehended. This is the ecological method and, as defined by one whose work is having a radical effect upon the thought of the present generation of biologists, Charles Elton, it is waiting to be applied to the study of man. It allows no room for generalisation.

K. DE B. CODRINGTON.







FIG. 1. LANDING-PLACE AT GBERE, ONE OF THE LEDU VILLAGES.

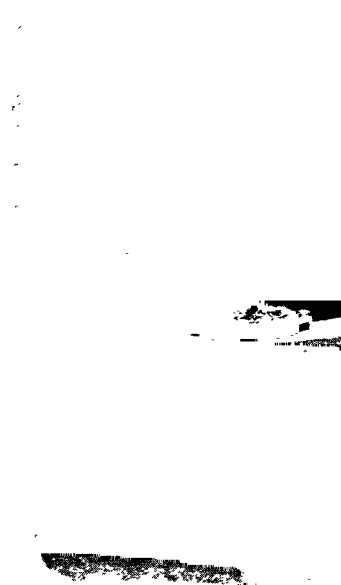


FIG. 2. THE "CHAIN OF TSOEDE."



FIG. 3. THE SACRED BRONZE FIGURES AT JEBBA.



FIG. 4. VILLAGE CHIEF WITH ÉGBĀ TSOEDE.

THE KING'S HANGMEN IN CENTRAL NIGERIA.

# MAN

## A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

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### ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

**Africa : West.**

**With Plate I-J.**

**Nadel.**

**The King's Hangmen : a judicial organization in Central Nigeria.** *By Dr. S. F. Nadel.*

Travelling on the Niger in Nupe country, between Jebba in the North and Eggā in the South, one comes across a certain group of villages, curiously distinguished from the rest of the riverain villages by the special name which the Nupe have for them : they call them *ledu*, in the plural *leduzhi*, which means, literally, 'prison.'

**143**

#### I.

The common name stands for a common organization to which they all belong. And as an apt symbol for an organization expressed by such a name each of these villages possesses the same emblem : a sacred iron chain (fig. 2). As a rule this chain is kept in the chief's house, and only very reluctantly would he show it as in fig. 4. At any rate, he would always make sure first that no woman (the anthropologist's wife included) is near the place when he brings it out into the daylight—for no woman is allowed to set eyes on this sacred implement. It is a heavy iron chain, often some 30 feet long, with strong leg- and arm-irons on it—what we should call a typical slave- or prison-chain. It is kept rolled up in a round wooden tray : but in one place, at Jebba, I found a railway wheel serving this purpose. The chain will always smell abominably, and will be covered with flies, the unmistakable sign that the traditional sacrifice of beer, and blood of fowl, has been performed properly.

There exist altogether eight such *ledu* villages. They are distributed along the Niger banks in a surprisingly regular manner, always between 10 to 15 miles apart from one another. The names of the *ledu* villages, from north to south, are as follows : Jebba, Gbere (fig. 1), Tada, Jiragi, Sūlati, Fofu, Tayi, Cewuru. Two *ledu* villages, Jebba and Tada—an offshoot of Jebba—possess, besides the chains, sacred bronze figures (fig. 3) which signify that these two villages are the 'old ones,' the heads of the *ledu* organization. The chain itself is called *égbā Tsoede*—the 'chain of Tsoede'—and chains and figures are said to have been brought to these places by the mythical ancestor of Nupe kingdom, Tsoede.<sup>1</sup>

The many versions of the Tsoede tradition which exist in Nupe country differ in details only. The main facts are always the same : Tsoede was a Nupe man, who was sent as slave to the Atta (king) of Idah, at the time when the Nupe were tributary to Idah. From a slave Tsoede soon became the Atta's favourite and friend. Presented by the Atta with slaves, wealth and powerful magic, but envied by the Atta's relatives, he had to flee from Idah after the Atta's death. In a magical bronze canoe, one of the Atta's presents, he paddled up the Niger and finally reached Nupe country. Here he settled down, and amongst the people of his country he distributed his wealth, the insignia of his rulership, and the emblems of his powerful magic. Very soon he delivered Nupe country from

<sup>1</sup> According to Nupe etymology the name Tsoede is derived from *Etsu Ede*, or *'tsu Ede*, i.e., king Ede. This explains the other name by which the culture hero of the Nupe is also known, *Edegi*.

the supremacy of Idah, and established the independent Nupe kingdom which is eventually to become one of the most powerful native states in Nigeria.<sup>2</sup>

## II.

The chain is the sacred relic of all *ledu* villages. It protects the village from sickness, and gives fertility to the women. But it has yet another, more special, meaning. It is also called '*tí dzana*, the 'head of Dzana,' and the story goes that Tsoede inaugurated the chain by beheading his own maternal uncle, Dzana, and placing head and chain together on the wooden tray as a permanent symbol for his power over life and death. From that day the chain remained an instrument of execution, and the villages which possess it are the ones to perform the execution: they are the 'king's hangmen.'<sup>3</sup> The jurisdiction over grave crimes lay in the hands of the king. They were actually termed *leifi nyá 'tsu*, 'crimes of the king.' But whenever such a grave crime was committed, the king had to summon the help of the *ledu*. The criminal was brought to the king's residence first. The king would then try the case, invoke the sacred ordeal, and pass the sentence. Then his own men would bring the criminal to the place of the execution, as a rule the *ledu* village situated nearest to the place of the crime. There men from the village put the criminal in irons, and led him into the bush where nobody could see him, tied the sacred chain round his neck, and strangled him. Finally they buried the corpse in the bush, and returned to their village, announcing to the king's messenger that 'everything had been done.'

The crimes which were regarded as such 'king's crimes' were: theft during the night, and big theft (*e.g.*, of cattle, or a horse); murder; and the crime of *lèse majesté*. In this case the *ledu* did not kill the criminal, but only flogged him severely, and drove him out of the territory of Nupe. In case the criminal was a man of high rank, perhaps of the ruling family, only the head towns, Jebba or Tada, could perform the execution.

Three men were the executioners in every village, and one amongst them was invariably the *ndáde*, the 'father of the shooting,' *i.e.*, the head of the hunter guild. There is a deep meaning in this. For a hunter is not only a man trained in hunting and killing, but he also possesses that essential magic which, after the act of killing, can expiate the deed, and propitiate the spirit of the dead. And through this element of propitiatory magic the killing of the guilty criminal is distinguished from all other killing. It ceases to be mere inflicting of death. It gains the dignity of a sacred office, and an almost ritual act.

Whether such beliefs went deeper than this: whether there existed a general superstition which made the people shrink from the idea of inflicting death on natives of their own village, and thus made them entrust this uncanny work to people from other places, or to people protected by special magic, I dare not decide. There certainly exists still to-day a strong repugnance against having to do with all matters concerning death, and in particular unnatural death. Even the ordinary burial is carried out in secret, by one special family in every village which alone possesses the magical knowledge of burying the dead. But should a person be killed by lightning, or found murdered, no native of the village would come near the dead, but people from another village (or perhaps a village known for its special magic) would be called to perform this mysteriously perilous work. Yet, on the other hand, I have positive evidence that in certain places of Nupe, outside the

<sup>2</sup> A few words only about the possible historical basis of this tradition. According to the existing, very detailed, genealogies of the Nupe kings, Tsoede's life fell into the beginning of the sixteenth century. At that time Idah is said to have been, since long, under the supremacy of Benm. Now the big bronze figures at Jebba and Tada are cast in *cire perdue*, the same technic as the famous Benin bronzes—and a technic which does not exist, at least not in the same perfection, in Nupe country to-day. The chains and irons, finally, are evidently of European origin. They must have been brought into Nigeria by the Portuguese who, as we know, had established close contact, and

an extended slave trade, with the king of Benm by the end of the fifteenth century. From Benin the bronze figures and chains might have reached Idah, and eventually Nupe, by the natural highway for trade and traffic, the Niger.—About the bronze figures see also MAX, 1931, 261, and 1934, 193.

<sup>3</sup> The *ledu* are also known by the name *dogari nya Tsoede*, lit. the policemen of Tsoede. *Dogari*, however, is a Hausa word, which might have been adopted more recently. In one or two places I actually found an older term still remembered: *tete-cigbeci*, lit. the executioner-medicineman. This term evidently refers to the magical element connected with this office.

sphere of influence of the *ledu*-organization, death penalty was executed, though in secrecy, by the people of the village themselves. But however this be, the actual issue is little affected. For even if there had existed this strong superstitious belief, the problem for us here is that it should be made use of in such a special way. The belief, the sentiments expressed in the belief, and the political institution in which they crystallize, are two entirely different things. The political system of Nupe kingdom, creating the *ledu*-organization, might actually only have adopted existing motives and ideas: but then it lent its own most sacred symbolism to their support, and at the same time formed out of their psychological appeal a rigid judicial monopoly, and a political office which almost comes to deny its origin: for the office of the *ledu* includes as we have seen also cases which have nothing more to do with death, namely the flogging of those who abused the name of the king; and ordinary flogging was done in every Nupe village.

### III.

More than a hundred years of Mohammedan law, decades of civil war and political changes, were not powerful enough to break the spiritual influence of the *ledu* institution, the belief in its ordeals, and the sacredness of its office. But they have been able to obliterate certain details of its organization. One point in particular it is difficult to ascertain to-day: who was actually entitled to make use of the organization of 'Tsoede's hangmen'?

I found two different, and conflicting, interpretations. According to the first, the power of the *ledu* was limited to the river, and the authority over the *ledu* was, from Tsoede's time almost up till now, given into the hands of the chief of one section among the Nupe, the Kyedya. The people who call themselves Kyedya are the most powerful among the riverain Nupe. They are the canoe- and fishermen on the main river; they monopolize river traffic and trade, they look down upon their neighbours, and style themselves the 'Lords of the Waters.' They are united in a very strongly centralized political organization, and their head is the chief of Muregi, who holds the ancient hereditary title of *kuta*. The *kuta*, then, is said to be the legitimate head of the *ledu* organization. But a second version says that the office of the *ledu* comprised the whole country (or at least stretched inland as well), and that the power over the *ledu* belonged exclusively to the *etsu*, or kings, of the Nupe—the kings who were till the Fulani conquest the direct descendants of Tsoede.

Weighing evidence against evidence, the situation seems to be this:—Originally an organization of the Nupe king the *ledu* system was adopted later by the Kyedya. In the beginning the Nupe king alone was entitled to act through the *ledu* organization. Geographical and historical facts, reflected in the mythology of their ancestor-king, account for the connection with the river area: the territory of the young Nupe kingdom were the river banks. The river Niger, *ndáduma*, as the Nupe call it, 'Father Niger,' marks the path of the mythical Tsoede where he set out to unite the Nupe into a powerful kingdom. Even later, in historical times, when the Nupe state extended far across central Nigeria, the capitals always remained near the river: Gbara, Jima, Mokwa and Raba.<sup>4</sup> But also economically the Niger was the life centre of the country. The welfare of a large section of the population depended on the river. And traffic and trade, so immensely important in Nupe culture, were bound up with the Niger. What appears, then, in the context of myth as the path of the ancestor-king of Nupe, plays in the actual tribal life the rôle of a 'King's Highway,' of a vital artery of the political and economic organism over which the king extends his own special, sacred authority. Violation of the law in this area means the violation of this sacredness; and crimes committed here became crimes of a special sort, subject to a special jurisdiction which has the meaning more of a sacred vengeance than of an ordinary punishment.

When, however, during the Fulani wars the political centre moved away from the river, finally to Bida, the present capital of Nupe, the original organization of the *ledu* must have lost force and significance. And then it was, as our evidence points out, that the Kyedya claimed the title over the *ledu*. The power over the river was now theirs, unquestioned. The Kyedya, hostile to the Fulani invaders, always boasting with their ancient lordship over the waters, and regarding themselves still in the days of British rule as equal to the king of Bida, seized this organization which seemed a

<sup>4</sup> See the map in my article on *Nupe State and Community* (AFRICA, VIII, 3).

weapon so well suited to their hands. And in their small 'state within the state' this jurisdiction over the 'King's Highway' was still working, a true if smaller copy of the old system, some thirty or forty years ago.

## IV.

The *ledu* villages are, as we have seen, linked with the king's person by special sacred links: they are made to share the king's guardianship over the law: they thus visibly represent, and almost propagate, the supreme power of the king at what we are tempted to call 'strategic' places. And in this, it seems to me, an important general sociological issue is involved. Strict centralization of legal power, however strong a machinery for political integration it seems, always harbours a disintegrative element as well. For it tends to separate the crime as actually committed from the final act of justice. The element of retaliation and atonement, so essential to the savage mind, becomes meaningless where the criminal is tried and punished a hundred miles away, and by people who are, practically, strangers. The individual community is deprived of one of the most powerful elements of social cohesion, namely, the title to sanction the violation of its laws and of its social order within its own boundaries. It appears to be the meaning of the *ledu* organization to neutralize this influence for that vital area of the Niger valley. For the most conspicuous, final, phase of jurisdiction is returned to a certain extent to the individual community. It is true this applies only to a few selected places. But we remember their surprising regular distribution on the river: and also the rule that the *ledu* village nearest to the place of the crime had to be called upon to perform the execution. These villages are 'representative' places, and 'strategic' places, and their selection is backed by the strongest charter: mythical and religious belief.

S. F. NADEL.

## India.

## Mills.

**The Effect of Ritual upon Industries and Arts in the Naga Hills.** *By J. P. Mills: communicated to the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, London, 1934 (Compte Rendu, pp. 264-5).*

**144** It was on a very hot March day in a village of the Ao Naga tribe on the S.E. frontier of Assam that I received a letter from the President of this Section, asking me if I would speak to you briefly on the inter-relation of the ceremonial, industrial and artistic life of the Naga tribes.

My inclination was to decline the honour, but he is an old friend and knows my limitations. He knows I am no scholar with a library at my elbow, but an official in charge of a remote area, who can only tell you something of what I have seen every day during the many years I have spent in the Naga Hills.

I propose to divide what I have to say into several parts. Firstly, I wish to deal at some length with agriculture and its ceremonies, far the most important aspect of Naga life, secondly with other industries, thirdly with Feasts of Merit and the stimulus they exert, fourthly with head-hunting and its effect on the decorative arts, and, lastly, with the disastrous effects of the beliefs regarding fires and unnatural deaths.

1. Every Naga is an agriculturist and his life depends on what he grows. He lives in a village which is a closely knit community and which acts together in seeking the favour of spirits for the crops of all. The essential act of worship is a day of rest, on which no one is allowed to do any work in the fields at all.

At the risk of being rather long, I intend to take you through the whole agricultural year of a typical Rengma Naga village. The details have never been recorded before and there is no other way in which I can so clearly show how the maximum of worship is combined with the minimum of interference with work, which, as every farmer knows, waits for no man. The dates I give are those on which the rest days fell in 1931. It will be convenient if I use the Rengma word *kennü* for the day of rest.

The year opens with *kennü* days of purification, on January 4th, 6th and 7th. The work of clearing the old *jhums* of weeds then begins, and on the 15th there is a *kennü* to prevent fires, of which

there is great risk at this season, and on the 16th another to mark the end of the period during which pots can be made. Then the sowing of millet, the earliest crop, begins and the new *jhums* are felled, left to dry and burnt. It is a busy time and few days can be spared for *kennüs*. One is kept on January 21st as a rest from sowing and another on February 10th to bring luck in hunting. In March it is time to think of the rice, a far more important crop than millet, and from the 10th to the 15th are days of *kennü* and feasting, preparatory to beginning the main work of the year. After this the ground is hoed over and prepared for sowing, which, as one might expect, is preceded by a whole series of *kennü* days. On the 25th, there is one for the millet, which is sprouting by now, on the 26th one to mark the end of the period during which red dye may be used, on the 27th one to avert any bad luck which might be brought by new shell beads and ivory armlets, which are white, the colour of the dreaded hail, and on the 28th, one to prevent worms in the stomach of cattle from giving rise to grubs on the crops. Finally, there is one on April 1st to mark the beginning of sowing, which goes on for most of the month, interrupted only by *kennüs* for rest on the 11th and 20th and one for hail on the 16th.

On the 25th, *kennü* is kept for the growing millet and on the 28th another to make rice beer for the series of *kennu* days that follow, for the rice is beginning to sprout now and needs special protection. April 30th and May 1st are *kennü* days on which rice beer is offered to the rice "to keep it damp." On the 3rd, *kennü* is kept to prevent drought, on the 4th to avert cloudbursts, on the 9th to keep ants away, on the 10th to keep grubs away, on the 14th to keep caterpillars from the blades and on the 16th to keep wire-worms from the roots. The millet is now getting high and on the 20th, *kennü* is kept and offerings are made to it. On the 24th, *kennü* is kept for rice pests in general and on the 27th eggs are offered. June is equally full of *kennü* days. On the 4th a day is kept to prevent the precious crop from being scorched, on the 8th a day for rain, on the 9th a day for fine weather, on the 10th a day to keep rats away, on the 11th a day to keep evil spirits away and on the 13th a day to prevent housewives from being wasteful. At this time every one is busy weeding his crop and in the second half of the month there is only a *kennü* for grubs on the 20th and another for ants on the 29th.

Jungle grows with amazing speed in Assam, and in July the paths to the fields have to be cleared, that men and spirits may move freely along them. This is done from the 6th to the 13th, during which days all ordinary work in the fields is stopped and the villagers combine a great deal of feasting and jollification with the jungle clearing. Then the weeding of the rice continues with *kennü* days only on the 19th for caterpillars, on the 23rd for rats and on the 28th for drought. Only the first half of August is full of *kennü* days, for by the middle of the month the rice is in the ear and tempting to monkeys and birds. Men therefore cannot afford to stay in the village, but must be down guarding their fields. On the 4th, *kennü* is kept for rats, on the 6th for evil spirits, on the 7th for gales which would flatten the standing crop, and on the 8th for hail. On the 10th and 11th the good spirits are worshipped and on the 17th, offerings are made for the ears of rice. All that can be done has been done now and harvest is awaited.

On September 5th *kennü* is held for the house-spirits and on the 8th to prevent waste. The 10th and 11th are *kennü* days for the solemn eating of the first fruits. On the next day harvest begins and every one is busy till the middle of November. On November 14th *kennü* is again observed to stop waste and on the 15th to make thank-offerings to the spirits. Finally, from November 24th to December 5th the whole village gives itself up to the great feast that marks the end of the year's work.

If we add up, we find that a village observes about 70 *kennü* days, but these are so carefully timed that work is never seriously interfered with. It is far different with private ceremonies. A ceremony for illness or a birth in the house may keep a man away from his fields at his busiest time. A death is more serious still. In most tribes, near relations have to refrain from work for anything up to five days, and distant relations for one day. In one group of Memi villages in Manipur State the custom is even more severe. There no one at all in a village may begin sowing till the village has been free from death for a certain number of days. The result is that in an unhealthy spring a series of deaths will drive the impatient villagers almost to desperation and one wonders how the custom can have survived, when the risk of a fatally long postponement of sowing is so great.

2. I am afraid I have been very long and detailed but I wished to present to you what I believe to be a new aspect of Naga agricultural life. I can deal with other industries far more briefly and will begin with salt making.

All Nagas use salt. Much of it is brought from the plains, but for many purposes salt from their own wells is greatly preferred. These are not numerous and are prized possessions. Yet all villages which own wells do not make salt. For example, the Eastern Rengmas do not. They say they once tested the prohibition and made some, but the crops failed and they never repeated the experiment. They seem to see nothing curious in the fact that other villages can make salt with impunity.

Similarly all tribes use earthenware pots, but all tribes do not make them, even if they have the clay on their land. In the huge Ao tribe, for example, the industry is confined to one small section, which traces its descent back to a different stock. Even a Christian Ao who does not belong to that section will not make pots. Even in villages where pots are made they can only be made by women and only in the cold weather between harvest and sowing. Obviously if pot-making were allowed throughout the year the women would be tempted to neglect their work in the fields. I think, too, that the tapping of the moulding sticks on the clay would be thought to be harmful to the fields, which are always regarded as pregnant between sowing and harvest and easily startled by noises.

Again, all Nagas use iron spears, "daos," etc., but only some villages make them, and in places where they are made the industry is often confined to rather despised families. It is an unlucky trade. A smith lives under special tabus and is not allowed to work at all during important village ceremonies.

All Nagas wear clothes—though some of them wear rather few! Yet the arts of spinning and weaving are not universal among them and are so strictly confined to women that men usually will not even step over or lay hands on a loom. Some tribes, notably the Eastern Semas, buy all their cloths. They feel vaguely that spinning and weaving would bring bad luck to their villages. A woman, in a village where it is allowed, may spin and weave at any time except during certain ceremonies and when her men-folk are on a raid. If she were to handle thread at such a time they would trip over creepers and fall into the hands of their enemies.

A great deal of cotton is dyed, the colours used being almost exclusively dark blue and scarlet. With dark blue there is no great difficulty. Any woman can use it, provided she speaks to no strangers while the thread is in the vat. But scarlet dye, of the colour of blood, is so full of magic that it can only be handled by a few old hags whose continued existence is held to be of no great importance. Even they can only use it in the cold weather between harvest and sowing. In some villages it is not allowed at all, and all red thread has to be bought.

3. It might be thought from what I have said above that Animism as held by the Naga tribes is wholly hampering to industry. This is not so. Certain aspects are most stimulating, notably the system of Feasts of Merit obtaining, with a few unimportant variations, among all tribes. The essence of this system is that every male Naga, if he is to acquire merit and status in this world and the next, must give a series of feasts, every detail of which is strictly prescribed. It probably takes him from youth to middle age to accomplish them. They begin with the sacrifice of a pig and end with that of at least one domestic bison garnished, so to speak, with quantities of cattle and pigs. An immense amount of rice and rice beer is consumed, and more rice than money goes to the buying of the animals. The Feasts therefore directly stimulate agriculture. More important still are the privileges they win for the giver. At stated stages in the series he and his wife gain the right to wear special cloths, which increase in splendour and in the elaborateness of their embroidery the further he advances. He is also entitled to embellish his house with carved posts and beams. It is important to remember that, no matter how rich a man may be, he can win the right to these cloths and carvings only by giving the feasts. Therefore a great number of very fine embroidery patterns and carving designs owe their existence entirely to this system of Feasts of Merit and will continue to exist only as long as the system does. To prove this, one has only to stroll through a Christian village. There may be many rich men with granaries bursting with rice, but not a fine cloth or a carving will you see.

4. Very similar is the stimulus afforded by head-hunting. It is the ambition of every Naga to take a head, not only for the sake of the glory he wins for himself and the magical benefits he confers

on his village, but for the sake of the ornaments it entitles him to wear. Head-hunting is not allowed in British territory and the invariable complaint of Nagas living there is "Our ornaments will die out." This, alas, is only too true, for the ornaments which wealth can buy are few compared with those only to be won by the taking of a head and the performance of the ceremonies attendant thereon. I will give a few examples. In most tribes, besides the cloths connected with the Feasts of Merit, there are others which can only be worn after taking a head and yet others which a man may wear only if he has both taken a head and given the full series of feasts and so has reached the pinnacle of earthly success. In particular, in the Konyak tribe certain anthropomorphic designs of great interest can be used only on the haversacks of successful warriors. It is fortunate that most tribes count the killing of a tiger as equivalent to the killing of a man, for this has preserved the peculiar art of painting on cloth practised by the administered Rengmas. Similarly, spear shafts encased in scarlet goats' hair can, in most tribes, be carried by a man who has killed a leopard. But this is not the case with the beautifully made cowrie gauntlets of the Semas, or the superb hornbill feather head-dresses now only worn by a few old Angamis. These are strictly confined to successful warriors. I could give many other examples of dress, but must pass on to carving.

Naga carving in the round probably reaches its height in the little wooden heads Konyak warriors wear on their chests. If head-hunting is ever abolished in the tribe, this art will perish with it. Connected too with war are the huge buildings near the gates of villages which serve both as guard-houses and as dormitories for the bachelors. They are the finest buildings Nagas erect and the carvings they contain are very fine. Enemies' heads are stored in them and their decoration is designed to stimulate the budding warrior. When peace is enforced, it is found that they survive for a time as dormitories and as clubs where the senior men sit and talk of the old days. But their life has gone from them and they gradually fall into disuse and disappear.

5. Lastly, there are two other matters I must mention very briefly. The first is the paralysing belief regarding fires. In the spring the jungle is as dry as tinder and people lighting fires are so hopelessly careless that hundreds of square miles are accidentally burnt every year and rendered unfit for cultivation for several seasons, thus seriously aggravating the land shortage. Yet many tribes, notably the Angamis, refuse to demand any fines from the culprits, believing that to accept a fine would appear to the spirits to acquiesce in fires and so be liable to cause more. Other tribes will accept a fine, but regard the money as tainted and bury it outside the village, for use when next they have to pay a fine themselves. Nothing therefore is done to discourage carelessness and the damage goes on year after year. This inertia causes a very serious problem for all who have the welfare of the tribes at heart. With regard to the fires that sweep through the crowded bamboo villages, the situation is equally serious. Instead of combining to pull down houses and so control the fire, every man's first thought is to find an egg to throw into the flames, not to put them out, but to avert the evil from himself. He then postpones pulling his house down till it is too late. Every village is destroyed sooner or later and the few old ornaments and relics surviving get less every year.

Secondly, there is the ritual which has to be followed in the event of an accursed death, that is to say, a death in childbirth or by drowning or other accident. In its strictest form, such as is still followed by the Lhotas, everything the household of the dead man possessed is abandoned. Even coin is thrown on the ground and never touched again: cattle are left untended in the jungle, or driven over a cliff, and crops are unreaped. There is a strong and very natural tendency to relax these rules, but where they are strictly kept the effect of ritual on industry is as disastrous as it is possible to imagine.

To sum up, the evidence seems to show that the routine ritual of the Naga tribes rarely hampers and often stimulates their industrial and artistic life. Even the tabus localizing industries tend to encourage trade. This is what we should expect, for ritual which seriously and constantly dislocates life tends to die out. It is only the ritual connected with extraordinary events that hampers industry and art, and, when it does so, its effect is sometimes even more damaging than the misfortune which called it into play.

The object of my paper will have been achieved if my remarks induce others to tell us how things stand in this respect in other parts of the world.

J. P. MILLS.



**Africa: West.****Wild.****An Ancient Pot from Tarkwa, Gold Coast.** *By R. P. Wild, Inspector of Mines, Gold Coast Colony.*

**145** The pot illustrated herewith was discovered by the writer on January 27th, 1933, some months after the article, *Stone Age Pottery from the Gold Coast and Ashanti* (*J.R.A.I.*, LXIV, 1934) had been sent in; and the following account should be read in conjunction with that article.

The actual site of the discovery was on a line drawn 60 feet in a south-westerly direction from the south-west corner of the Secretary for Mines Bungalow, situated on Government Hill, Tarkwa (*Gold Coast Survey: Field Sheet No. 20, 1:62500*)—Government Hill is one of those long, narrow ridges, rising to some 400 feet above sea level, which form such a marked feature of the Tarkwa District. It was nearly, but not quite, at the highest point of the ridge that the pot was found.

Originally this ridge was covered with dense forest which preserved the soil and subsoil from the effects of tropical sun and rain. Some thirty years ago, however, the trees were felled for mining purposes, thus exposing the surface to the full erosive action of the storms. After the denudation of the superficial layers and the removal of the subsoil to some extent, the pot became partly exposed with its base uppermost. It was in this position when found by the writer. The pot was firmly embedded in laterite, a decomposition product of the local phyllites, the first few inches of which had to be chipped out, but gradually becoming less hard as the mouth of the pot was disclosed.

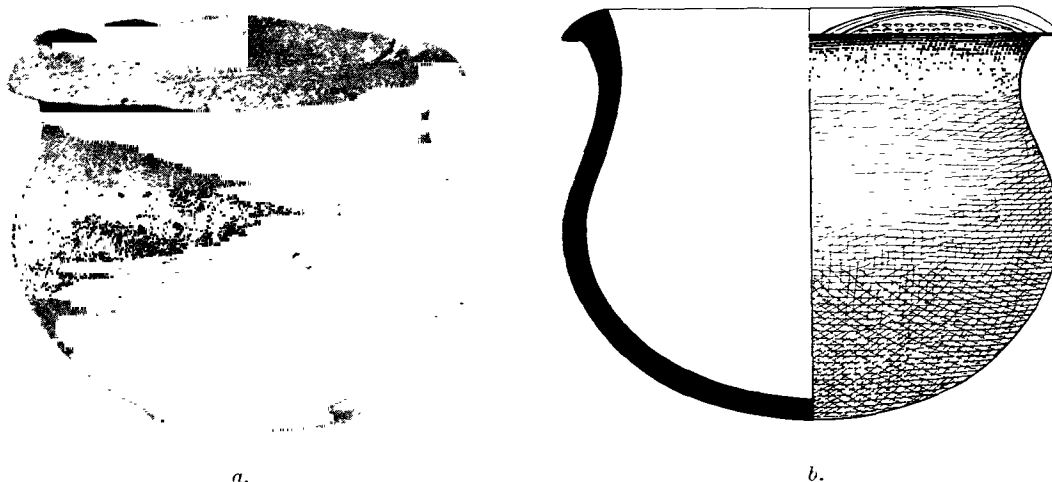


FIG. 1. A CLAY POT FROM TARKWA, GOLD COAST: (a) PHOTOGRAPH; (b) SECTION.

*By permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.*

The cavity of the pot was empty, except within the periphery of the lip, where there was some fine dry humus, which, from its appearance, suggested the agency of ants. The pot was a little damaged as a portion of the rim had broken away, but the fragment was lying at the bottom of the excavation, nearly in its correct position. From the nature of the fractured surfaces it could be seen that the break was an old one.

The removal of the laterite in the vicinity of the pot brought to light some other fragments of old pottery, including some pieces of rims. These were of the usual coarse texture, red-brown in colour, with very little pattern.

Such an occurrence cannot be considered at all unexpected, as on many previous occasions various objects have been excavated. Besides many potsherds, these include stone axes, quartz flakes, and a granite disc, the latter from a depth of about three feet, but as in the case of all other discoveries of ancient pottery, no human remains were found. Government Hill, Tarkwa, may therefore be considered to be the site of ancient human habitation.

The chief dimensions of the pot, which vary at different points, owing to the irregularity of construction, are as follows :—The inside diameter of the rim varies from  $4\frac{3}{4}$  inches to  $4\frac{7}{8}$  inches: the thickness of the rim at the overhang is  $\frac{11}{16}$  inches: the depth inside from lip to base is  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches: the height outside is  $4\frac{3}{4}$  inches: the thickness of the pot at the shoulders is  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch. The rim is everted, reinforced, and possesses a slight overhang. The base is rounded.

There is very little pattern and this is confined to the rim. This is not an unusual feature of this old pottery which is found in the Tarkwa district, in marked contrast to the more elaborate designs which are characteristic of Obuasi, Bekwai and Fomena in Ashanti. The pattern consists of a few parallel curves whose cord is formed by a series of rather ill-defined dots.

For purposes of comparison the outline of this pot approaches nearly to those of the Obuasi and Topiramang pots described in *J.R.A.I.*, LXIV (1934), both of which have everted rims and rounded bases. The colour of the pot is red-brown and it was hand-made, there being no trace of a wheel.

The pot has been presented to the British Museum.

R. P. WILD.

## ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS.

**Exhibition of the Art of Primitive Peoples.** *Burlington Fine Arts Club, 9th July, 1935.*

By the kind invitation of the Members of the Burlington Fine Arts Club, the Exhibition of the Art of Primitive Peoples was open to Fellows of the Institute and their guests, about thirty being present. Professor Tancred Borenius received the visitors on behalf of the Burlington Fine Arts Club and conducted them round the cases, explaining the arrangement and sequence, and calling particular attention to the artistic qualities of a Southern Nigerian mask, lent by Professor C. G. Seligman, and some Eskimo ivory and bone carved bows and toggles. Among the finest of the other exhibits were some large masks, some beautifully carved armlets, and also, showing distinct European influence, some cast bronze and copper figures, all from Benin. 146

The exhibits had been chosen for their artistic excellence, which was very high, but the provenance of the objects was stated when known.

**Physical Anthropology: Gift to the Institute.**

Professor and Mrs. Seligman have presented to the Institute two series of cards of physical measurements. With the majority of these are one or more photographs of the subjects. The series are: (1) Anglo-Egyptian Sudan (about 300 cards), (2) British New Guinea (a smaller number). The Sudan series is already at the Institute, and is available to workers: the British New Guinea cards are at present on loan to a colleague who is dealing with this area, but will be handed over to the Institute as soon as his work is completed. 147

## PROCEEDINGS OF OTHER SOCIETIES.

**International (European) Folk Dance Festival.** *London, 15-20 July, 1935.*

This Festival was held under the auspices of the English Folk Dance and Song Society, and of the British National Committee on Folk Arts (Commission Internationale des Arts Populaires) of the League of Nations, and is the first of its kind. Its object was to promote understanding and friendship between nations through the common interest of Folk Dance; to demonstrate the value of Folk Dance in the social life of to-day; and to further the comparative study of Folk Dance. 148

It was found necessary to limit the Festival to European countries, but five hundred dancers, representing eighteen countries, performed characteristic dances, in full local costumes, at the Royal Albert Hall, in the Open Air Theatre in Regent's Park, and in the grounds of Lambeth Palace.

In connection with these public exhibitions of Folk Dancing, a Conference was held in the mornings of 16-20th July at Cecil Sharp House, the headquarters of the English Folk Dance and Song Society, to receive communications on the history and interpretation of Folk Dances, and proposals for the scientific description of them. The Chairman of this Conference was Professor J. L. Myres (Oxford); the Secretary, Miss Violet Alford (London); and the Recorder, Miss M. Miller (Edinburgh). On Wednesday, 17th July, papers illustrated by films and lantern slides were delivered in the Phoenix Theatre.

Dr. Elise Van der Ven ten Bonsel (Netherlands) reviewed *Aspects of Folk Dance in different stages of national development*, the living art among unsophisticated peasantry as an element in their communal life, the disorganized survivals of such

ceremonies, and the self-conscious revival of selected dances as elements in more intensive national cultures. Dr. Goetsch summarized recent efforts to establish a system of dance-figures in accord with the national characteristics of the German people, experiments with individual dancing and the 'egoisme à deux' of partner-dances, such as the waltz and polka, had been succeeded by more congenial application of the principles of English Folk Dance, but the result had been a more creative and characteristic movement based on old Germanic traditions. Dr. Wolfram (Vienna) found occasions for individual skill and self-expression within the limits of systematized dance-figures, and emphasized the function of partner-dances as an element in the traditional repertory of European Folk Dance.

Professor Cezaria Jedrzejewicz sent a description of *Polish Wedding Customs*.

Dr. R. Wolfram (Vienna) exhibited the symbolic *Threshing Dance* of Austria, still treasured as a rite by certain peasant dance-associations.

Professor Curt Sachs (Paris) classified the *Symbols of the Dance*, as expressions of emotional states and social and religious functions and ideas.

Dr. Sandvik (Oslo) described, with a sound-film, the technique and typical melodies of the Norwegian *Langleik*, an eight-stringed instrument with modified mixolydian scale.

Dr. R. Wolfram (Vienna) traced the *Ritual and Dramatic Associations of Sword and Chain Dances*, from pre-classical representations in Cyprus and Greece to modern survivals in Central Europe, emphasizing their ritual character, and the significance of principal features such as the 'locking' of the swords into a 'nut' or 'wheel,' and the 'killing' and revival of one of the performers.

Miss Violet Alford (London) discussed the spread of dances attributed to the Moors, from the *Morisca* of Southern Europe to the English *Morris* dance. Historical accident has here disguised the fact that much in these dances is indigenous and has ritual antecedents. The debt of folk dancing to sun-cult, fertility rites, and initiation-ceremonies was illustrated by Miss Canziani and by Messrs. Douglas Kennedy and Rodney Gallop.

Dr. D. J. Van der Ven (Netherlands) described many picturesque *Dutch traditional dances in connection with Dutch folk-rites*, with voluminous films.

Mlle. Louise Witzig (Zurich) classified *Swiss Folk Dances* and discussed their *Significance in the Revival of Rural Culture*. Diversity of race, foreign military service and other kinds of sojourn abroad, have interacted with mountain environment and economy to produce a rich and diverse repertory, including such unexpected items as the *Schottische* and a *Sailor's Dance*. Ceremonial dances, courtship-dances, typical allusions, so-called 'Jewish' dances, analogous to the western 'Morisco,' are supplemented by French court-dances, 'Allemander,' 'Monferrin' from Italy, and other exotic figures. The instrumentation, too, varies locally. Like costume and other folk arts, folk dancing contributes effectively to the spiritual expression of national and communal character.

Mme. R. Kazarova (Sofia) described the *Lazarica* custom observed by Bulgarians everywhere to bring abundance, health and prosperity. The *lazarica* are girls, led by a *kumica* ('commère'); the songs celebrate all sorts of persons, objects and events: the dancers are rewarded at each house which they visit with bread, eggs and refreshments. Other ceremonies are the couple-dance *račenica*, the *horos*, and the serpentine *buenec* on St. Lazarus' day. Members of the Bulgarian dance-team illustrated these dances with Mme. Kazarova as leader.

Mr. Douglas Kennedy (London) dealt with the historical reasons for the decay of folk dancing in England during the industrial revolutions, and the efforts of Cecil Sharp to revive it, through the English Folk Dance Society, which trains teachers, establishes a standard of performance, and demonstrates how the old forms of dance can be used under modern conditions; the Country Dance for social enjoyment, Morris and Sword dances for men and boys, while attention is paid to traditional music and its instruments, on which folk dancing must always depend. This paper evoked useful discussion and information about similar organizations abroad, their aims, and their methods.

In the absence of Mr. Jon Leifs (Iceland) his paper on *Icelandic Folk-dance and Music* gave rise to general discussion of the conditions for stabilization of folk arts.

Mr. Rodney Gallop (London) proposed an alphabetic notation for the *Systematization of Motives in the Ceremonial Dance*; separate alphabets representing the personages, accessories, ritual elements, figures, dance-names and associated folklore; and illustrated it by an analysis of the Basque 'mas-carade' dance dramas.

Professor W. Starkie (Dublin) described *Gypsy Lore and Music*, defining the function of the gypsy as minstrel and charmer, employing music and song to assist his other avocations, adapting local melodies to his canons of style, diffusing them from one region to another, and stimulating folk-spirit by their interpretation of archaic or obsolete material.

Dr. O. M. Sandvik (Oslo) illustrated with melodies played by a Norwegian musician the *Connection between Norwegian Folk Music and Folk Dance*. Vocal accompaniments include ballads, often ancient, and chanted in Gregorian modes. The instruments are the lute, langleik, and violin with under-strings, as well as European violins.

Professor R. Vuia (Cluj) gave a detailed analysis of the *Roumanian Hobby Horse (Calaşari)* with its survivals of fairy-worship, cult of the 'little horse' and of spring waters, sacrifice of the 'fool' by the dancers, death and resuscitation of a dancer, killing of deer, storks, or hares, and initiation-ritual. During the dance season the dancers are themselves possessed by the 'fair folk' and dispense their favours on men, animals and crops; but when the magical accessories have been buried, the dancers revert to common humanity and flee before the released 'fairies.'

The Chairman's *Closing Address* reviewed the

scientific results of so valuable a sequence of communications, and proposed the establishment of an informal body of correspondents from all countries which desired to co-operate in providing facilities for folk-dance study not already available through existing institutions. The hope was expressed that occasion might be found for a similar Folk Dance Festival in the near future. These resolutions were adopted, and Professor Myres and Miss Karpeles

agreed to act provisionally as Chairman and Secretary of the standing committee.

To describe the many dances included in the programme of the Folk Dance Festival is not possible here. They are recorded by name in the programmes of the public performances; and the coming number of the *Journal* of the English Folk Dance and Song Society will contain a full narrative of the Festival and Conference. J. L. MYRES.

## REVIEWS.

### SOCIOLOGY.

**Law and the Social Sciences.** By Huntington Cairns. Foreword by Roscoe Pound. London and New York, 1935. Pp. xiv, 250. Price 149 12s. 6d.

There can be no doubt of the need for such a book as this. The publishers claim it as 'pioneer,' though this is perhaps hardly the word, since as far back as 1902 Edwin Seligman had anticipated the preface to the present volume by his emphasis on synthesis rather than analysis in the social sciences, showing that we now return to Aristotle's view of the interrelation of politics, ethics and economics. Again, Mr. Cairns' apology for the scientific status of economics, his claim that "there is no generic difference between the social and the natural sciences" in that they are all classificatory and empirical, and all seek to establish scientific law, had been anticipated by Seligman's definition (*The Economic Interpretation of History*, p. 102): "scientific law is an explanatory statement of the actual relations between facts"; and this claim for scientific status has been repeated by many sociologists and economists since with the same arguments.

The chief drawback to the book from a practical viewpoint is that it has been so long in the press that no book is mentioned published later than 1933. In the first chapter, which deals with Anthropology, this is a serious defect, since the author has not read Malinowski's latest contribution on primitive law, or rather—and this is the crux of the problem—on law, for Malinowski does not recognize the functional difference between primitive law and law in a civilized society. Cairns uses Judge Cardozo's definition of law, "court-enforced rules of conduct," as "a real criterion by which to recognize law in advanced cultures." Cairns also quotes Malinowski's definition of law in *Crime and Custom in Savage Society*, "a body of binding obligations"; and he approves of this as distinguishing law from custom in primitive life. But he then stands back and despairs of harmonizing the two definitions. For Malinowski's definition, he declares, does not distinguish legal from non-legal rules of conduct in advanced cultures. He insists that the element of "the court" is a real attribute of the concept "law," and that therefore "a body

of binding obligations" is of no use as a definition of civilized law. Even if Cardozo's definition be altered to "State-enforced rules of conduct," Cairns argues, still no common denominator for law in all societies is found, for many authorities deny the existence of the State in every culture. And here it seems that confusion in terminology has choked thought, for no two economists agree as to the meaning of the word 'State,' and it is not to be wondered if the concept 'law' has not yet crystallized in Cairns' mind. He might have gone to a jurisprudent for enlightenment in reconciling the two definitions of Cardozo and Malinowski. Leo Petrazitsky writes: "The phenomena of law are composed of an emotion plus [certain] ideas of the subjects of the right and the duty, and of their corresponding forms of conduct. Emotional elements give to law-experience its force and dynamics; ideational elements define the patterns of conduct to which the law-emotion urges."<sup>1</sup> Or again, a sociologist, Emory S. Bogandus, defines law as "crystallized opinion. In a democracy it is crystallized majority opinion."<sup>2</sup> Cairns therefore has no need to pin his faith to the 'court' element when this has been rejected by jurists and sociologists, quite apart from anthropologists dealing with primitive law.

But the problem has been newly tackled in Malinowski's preface to Dr. Hogbin's *Law and Order in Polynesia*, where he says: "Whether we use the word law, or substitute for it some other expression, matters but little. Our own law is nothing but intrinsically valid custom"—and here by abolishing the fallacy of law as a specialized preconceived institution, and by distinguishing, as he proceeds to do, between the mechanism (*i.e.*, court) and the nature of law, Malinowski shows that "there is no fundamental breach of continuity between our own society and that of primitive peoples" (p. xxx). He shows the essential difference, a functional one, between law and custom in that legal rules are those which curb human instincts, which protect one citizen's rights against another citizen; while customary rules are those which it is no hardship to keep, for which there is no need of sanction by any form of punishment, as they are not affected by biological forces (p. xxvi).

In the chapter dealing with Economics, Mr. Cairns

<sup>1</sup> Introduction to the Theory of Law and Morals (Russian), 1907.

<sup>2</sup> Fundamentals of Social Psychology, 1924.

analyses the concept 'institution' with thoroughness and attacks the current looseness of terminology with regard to this word. In discussing the nature of property, he hits upon the principal of reciprocity and recognizes that property exists in societies as "claim backed by force" in societies where the Cardozo definition of law would not obtain, and he thus almost provides himself the solution to the nature of law which in the previous chapter he has declared insoluble. He recognizes the importance of land tenure to economic theory, though he does not mention in his historical survey that so far back as 1656 Harrington in *Oceana* first declared that land tenure determines the form of government of a society. His description of property theories is lucid and balanced, and he does not get involved in ethical discussion over such thorny subjects as the functional theory of property—Marx's property for use and property for power. In the section on contract, he realizes that the classification of cultures into evolutionary periods of barter, money, and credit, is absurd, on the ground of insufficient data for such schemes. But he does not penetrate to the fact that varieties of technique in the fundamental principle of reciprocity (from which the institution of contract springs) cannot possibly be evolutionary when we find all three stages side by side in both primitive communities (if for 'money' we substitute any form of currency), and in our own (where barter so often takes the form of services rendered for food and shelter). In this chapter also Cairns shows how anthropology can help economics over the reciprocity principle, and suggests that *utii*, as suggested by Dr. Raymond Firth, should be the word universally adopted for the reciprocity principle.

In the third chapter, on Sociology, Cairns gives a clear historical survey, showing the genius of Montesquieu and Comte in shaping modern sociological attitudes to law. In the chapter on Psychology he emphasizes the potential usefulness of this science in judging testimony, though he wisely cautions the extraordinary capacity of psychologists for "easy generalization"—an understatement of the amazing disregard for logic, sense, and scientific method, so often met in this fascinating science.

The chapter on Political Theory is of much greater value to American than English lawyers. Owing to the peculiar constitution of the United States, an American author is almost bound to over-emphasize the separation of legislative, executive and judicial powers, and in the section devoted to this subject, Cairns scarcely recognizes how interlocked these powers are in modern European States. In fact, the general secretary of the International Institute of Public Law at Geneva, Professor Mirkine-Guetzevitch, writing in the *Political Quarterly* of April-June, 1935, says: "The executive in the modern parliamentary system is not merely the organ of government. It is also the organ, the powerful organ, of legislation. . . . The majority of the laws passed by Parliament are due to the initiative of the Government. . . . Contrary to the old book theories of the separation of powers,

"it is the executive which under the parliamentary system legislates." Of course, in the United States this cannot be said, and an interesting instance was reported in the papers not long ago, when a New Deal bill of railroad pensions was declared 'unconstitutional' by the Supreme Court—and latest reports seem to indicate a deadlock between Roosevelt the executive, and the judicial powers.

Mr. Cairns carefully discusses the vexed terms of 'State' and 'sovereignty' without being able to shed much new light. If he had read Professor Laski's latest publication, *The State in Theory and Practice* (1935), he would probably have had to take an even more perplexed attitude, for there we find: "a State is a society or group of human beings which is integrated by possessing a coercive authority legally supreme over any individual or group which is part of the society." As most of the concepts in this definition are as undefined, as completely ambiguous as the word 'State' itself, we do not seem to have got much further; especially when it is considered that an abstract State cannot exercise coercive authority, but only a person or group of persons acting in the name of the larger group. In fact, Prof. Laski's personified State only came into being after Mr. Cairns' book was written, which is perhaps just as well.

As a contribution to modern problems, the book does not make any startling suggestions. Cairns recognizes the importance of anthropology to colonial administration and cites Captain Rattray's *Ashanti Law* as a model for similar studies. As he does not see the fundamental relevance of primitive law to modern jurisprudence, through failing to recognize the biological foundations of effective custom in both savage and civilized society, he does not touch on such wide and all-important problems as to how the theoretical sociologist would prove the folly of the 18th Amendment or Fascist decree. From the anthropological point of view, therefore, the book has no very great significance.

For the rest, the book is well documented and carefully written. The only outstanding authority omitted that one would have expected to find cited is A. V. Dicey's *Lectures on the relations between Law and Public Opinion in England during the nineteenth century*; otherwise the historical surveys and analysis of present thought are fairly complete. The index of names is devoid of initials, which seems a pity, as it is only by context that we guess the Seligman entry does not refer to our own professor of ethnology.

A. B. V. DREW.

**Scientific Research and Social Needs.** By Julian Huxley. With an Introductory Chapter by Sir William Bragg, and Discussions with Professor H. Levy, Sir Thomas D. Barlow and Professor P. M. S. Blackett. Watts & Co., London, 1934. 287 pp. Price 7s. 6d.

This book contains a series of discussions and the result of a tour of investigation among the centres of scientific research, pure and applied, in Britain, by Professor Julian Huxley. It describes the most modern scientific work in the fields of industry, food, building,

clothing, health, communications and war, against a background of the history of science in these fields, and against a foreground of present social need for diversion of scientific work into the field of the study of society. The record of technical science is finely recounted, but for all his evident appreciation of it, Huxley drives home, time after time, the point that making two blades of grass grow where one grew before, or improving the yields of wheatfields or the turnover of factories, is no longer the prime social need for the application of our scientific resources in men.

This conclusion has nothing to do with any preference for pure science over applied. The fields of pure and applied science are shown to give heavy contributions to each other, to such an extent that there is little excuse for scientific snobbery about purity or inapplicability. The conclusion is rather drawn from the sheer necessity of bringing scientific method into the study of society, if anything is to be done to make societies fit for the further progress of science. Hitherto, invention or the application of discoveries in the pure physical and chemical and biological sciences has secured ready social embodiment on the whole. Now, the welcome is no longer ready. This is only one aspect of present social troubles, but it is that which touches science as a whole most closely.

In one of these dialogues we find Blackett saying, "I am afraid that if society thinks that the scientist is going to be its saviour, it will find him a broken reed"; and Huxley replying, "I promise I will not be too optimistic; but I still feel that a scientific attitude to social problems is better than an unscientific one, and that we should do something to get it realized."

The existing lack is emphasized of financial investment towards the scientific study of social problems most relevant to present needs, and contrasted with the large sums invested in research towards utilities which are being over-produced and under-purchased already. Men of science are facing the possibility that the destruction of over-produced commodities will begin in the destruction of research directed to that wasteful end. "There is an Economic Advisory Committee, but no Economic Research Council to plan and finance concrete research in the economic field; and as for Social Science, not even an Advisory Committee exists. Is not this field sufficiently important to have a Research Council of its own?" To which Levy replies, "You have just been telling me how few psychologists and sociologists there are in the country. In the first place, where would you get your trained workers to do research in the human field? Who is going to apply their results to social practice?"

All of this has the closest relevance to social anthropology. There are, as we know, more workers trained to do research in the human field than there are present opportunities for research. Many of us hold on to our studies in the societies of illiterate peoples from our conviction that we are getting to know something about social organization as a whole. In any society, illiterate or civilized, there are the same tasks to be met by some social plan, education, law, economics, the fine adjustments between an enduring social system, whether it be matriline or patriline, clan or State, and its dissolving units such as the family or other forms of individual association. We study the various social plans according to which these universal tasks are accomplished, and by virtue of this training we are fitted to study any society where study on broad lines is vital. Our own society, as far as scientific resources for such research is concerned, does not apparently want a scientific study of itself. At present our aims are

remote, in consequence, and more concerned with the protection of Africans than with self-protection. Or some of us still hold to an antiquarian interest. Unfortunately for this interest the societies of contemporary illiterate peoples are not of any real antiquarian interest. They are not evidences of early stages in the evolution of society. We might as well write novels as try to reconstruct a prototype culture from which the divergent social cultures of American Indians, Australian aborigines, New Guinea natives, African natives, Asiatic natives and European natives may have been derived. The wider the scale of historical reconstruction on these lines, the more fictitious it evidently becomes. But if we have nothing to contribute to an antiquarian interest of a scientific order, we still are the gainers. For experiments in social living are, of all experiments, the most valuable and costly, and we have them to study in contemporary societies, literate and civilized, or illiterate and uncivilized, taking note that civilization and literacy are technological achievements, not necessarily achievements in social plans. Huxley has realized these facts well, made a field trip into British science and presented the record of that science in a social setting; and it is to be hoped that his conclusions will be followed up, for there is more than a little in them.

R. F. FORTUNE.

**The Riddle of the Sphinx ; or Human Origins.** By Géza Róheim. Authorized translation from the German by R. Money-Kyrle. (International Psycho-Analytical Library, No. 25.) London : Hogarth Press, 1934. 302 pp., plates. Price 18s.

151

The main theory which Dr. Róheim here puts forward is that the culture as a whole, and particularly the ritual, of every "primitive" group is conditioned by the typical sexual experiences of the children in that group. He argues the case very plausibly with the aid of data obtained from Central Australia and Melanesia, but the theory is open to three objections. The first is that if sexual experience conditions culture, culture certainly conditions sexual experience, so that at best we are confronted with the old problem of the owl and the egg. The second is that ritual is essentially a communal activity, and that, whatever its origin, its ostensible purpose is often to increase the food supply. Now although there will always be certain members of a community whose sex anxiety exceeds their food anxiety, yet while it is often possible for all the members of a group to feel food anxiety, it is never possible for more than a fraction to feel sex anxiety, so that, *a priori*, food anxiety is far more likely to lead to communal activity in the shape of ritual than sex anxiety. Thirdly, Dr. Róheim completely ignores the possibility that savages are decadent rather than primitive, and that the ritual of the Central Australians, instead of representing the upward strivings of a race of semi-apes, may be the decaying remains of an ancient civilization.

The book is full of assertions which, even if they were true, would require a good deal of evidence to support them. Thus we are told that demons originate in the nursery (p. 27), that "the appearance of the mother's brother as a representative of the father-imago is characteristic of all primitive forms of social organization" (p. 113), that "the widespread parallels between the various rites and myths prove that they must have been developed in primeval times" (p. 133), that when children play at horses they "have introjected their Oedipus complex in a symbolic form in play" (p. 157). Finally, we are told of "the well-proved rule that a stranger or unknown person in a dream stands for a very close relation" (p. 36). This is a very convenient rule, since it enables Dr. Róheim to prove

that all dreams are incest dreams. He is unfortunately obsessed by the besetting phantasies of the psychoanalysts, the 'Oedipus complex,' the 'primal scene,' and the 'castration anxiety,' and a further criticism which must be made is that although he frequently quotes the dreams of the natives, he never gives the tribe, age or social condition of his informants, nor tells us how his information was obtained.

It is a great pity that Dr. Róheim is not more detached and scientific in his outlook, since when he can get away from his obsessions he is often very interesting. His discussions of myth and ritual are valuable, as is his addendum on retardation, in which he discusses most interestingly the question whether the savage can be regarded as childish. RAGLAN.

#### GENERAL.

**The Spirit of Language in Civilization.** By Karl Vossler. Translated by Oscar Oeser. 8½ x 5½, vi + 247 pp. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd. 1932.

**152** This work, now issued as part of the International Library of Psychology, Philosophy and Scientific Method, consists of a number of essays first published in collected form in German in 1925, though parts of them had already appeared previously. The chapter headings, which give some clue to the contents, are as follows: Assumptions and Experiences: Speech, Conversation, and Language; Language and Religion: An Example: New Forms of Thought in Vulgar Latin; Language and Nature; Language and Life: Language Communities (a very long chapter divided into six sections); Language and Science; and Language and Poetry. There is, therefore, considerable diversity of subjects and not much formal unity in the work, and it covers a great deal of ground. It is also full of suggestive ideas, and needs careful reading if one wishes to follow the author's train of thought. Where he is dealing with the phenomena of the Romance languages he is in his own domain, of which he is a master, and one feels that he is moving in a region of realities that can be determined and classified. Elsewhere, the impression is often much more nebulous. In part, this is due to the author's habit of using extremely metaphorical language; but partly also to his adoption of a philosophy which holds that every living thing is at once both A and non-A (p. 20). Variants of this formula occur with rather irritating frequency in his work.

Of the very numerous points in the book which invite discussion only very few can be mentioned here. On p. 117 we are told that "many languages can be studied" and acquired, but only that one can be immediately "experienced which was used at the time at which one worked one's way from the state of an infant to that of a member of a language community." This distinction plainly breaks down in the numerous cases of persons who have started with two languages and kept both of them up. One would like to have definite evidence for the statement (p. 168) that "international bolshevism, socialism, and communism have quartered themselves on the grammar and vocabulary of 'Esperanto,' for it seems difficult to conceive of politics directly influencing grammar. I leave to the general consensus of comparative philologists the task of dealing with the statement (p. 166) that "similar grammatical structure is a much overrated proof of a historical language relationship. A common vocabulary is at least as strong a proof, if not a stronger one," etc. But I feel that a protest must be made against the contemptuous tone which the author adopts towards phoneticians and their work (pp. 77-79). They do, at any rate, deal, and deal exactly and scientifically, with

determinable realities. For a century or so the world has been favoured with a succession of works on the 'theory,' the 'principles,' the 'spirit,' etc., of language. I venture to think that more has been done by the spade-work of phoneticians in furthering the study and comprehension of speech in the last fifty years than by all the more or less abstract and philosophical treatises produced in double that time by the professors of what (on the analogy of 'Metaphysics') I should like to term 'Metaglossics.'

The translation, so far as I have checked it, seems on the whole to have been well done. But 'Mallorca' (p. 35) for Majorca, 'medium' (p. 57) for the middle (voice), and 'Maecenians' (p. 174) as the plural of Maecenas, strike false notes; and on p. 163 there is an error which makes nonsense of the sentence beginning "But the great thinkers" and ending "in which they were to be found and seen at the moment." As is shown by the German original, with its "in denen sie gerade jetzt zu suchen und zu sehen wäre" (not "waren"), "they were" should be "it was." In some cases (e.g., p. 176) the translator has modified the text by substituting "English" for the "German" of the original, but that is perhaps quite a legitimate adaptation. On p. 189 the Greek words for 'painting' and 'of God' are misprinted; but the former is wrong in the German text also. The Appendix of translations of quotations in foreign languages is a welcome addition; the index could with advantage have been even fuller than it is. C. O. BLADEN.

**The Woodlands and Marshlands of England.** By H. A. Wilcox, M.A. (Mrs. G. S. Treleaven). With a Foreword by Professor P. M. Roxby. University Press of Liverpool. London: Hodder and Stoughton, Ltd., 1933. Price 6s.

**153** The rapidity with which the centre of interest in prehistoric studies in Britain is moving from artefacts to environment is notable. The reason is fairly clear: it is that a study of the distribution of Man in relation to his environment in successive stages of culture enables the mass of data relating to the period and provenance of objects made by man to be utilized. Instead of being overwhelmed by new accretions of information regarding finds, the research worker welcomes them, as they can readily be absorbed.

But these studies require knowledge beyond the resources of archaeologists: the specialized technique of the geologist, botanist, zoologist and geographer must be invoked, if the environment is to be correctly appreciated, and Man's reactions to it assessed.

Hence we turn with interest to such works as that of Mrs. Treleaven's. It consists of two maps on the 1,100,000 scale, the first of which is overprinted to show the distribution of wood and marsh in prehistoric times. The maps are printed by the Ordnance Survey, and the publication, thanks doubtless in part to a grant in aid by the British Association, is issued at the low price of 6s.

The method adopted for showing woodland is stipple marking; this is a satisfactory technique, since by its use hard and fast boundaries are avoided and all gradations from dense woodland through scrubby woodland to parkland can be recorded. The object of the map is "to show the proportion of the country easily occupied by man; secondly the areas which were a barrier to him, and, lastly, those areas which it was possible to occupy only with some difficulty."

Both the author and the writer of the foreword describe the map as "tentative," and only those who have been working on the same problem can realize how inadequate the data on which such generalizations as

this map contains must necessarily be based. The first requirement is that the Geological Survey should provide us with a complete Drift Map of Britain: the second is a map of Britain in which the coloration is based on *soil type*, not on lithology. Glacial 'Drift' in East Anglia may comprise every type of soil from the lightest sand to the stiffest clay; and there is at present no means open to a student of Early Britain of determining the soil character of a great part of the country other than by walking over it and recording it on a six-inch map. Others before the author of the present volume have attempted to deal with the problem; and it is curious that no reference will be found in her 48 pp. of discussion to such workers and their achievement. This omission suggests that the author's work is pioneer, which is by no means the case. The Ordnance Survey authorities, for example, have published a map of Roman Britain on a similar scale, in which the forest areas are shown. Other works on cognate lines published previous to the issue of this book have been drawn upon for information, as the preface states; but this acknowledgment is hardly adequate, since it gives no clue to the reader of the book as to where to turn for the source of particular views or facts therein expressed.

But the reviewer does not wish to stress a controversial note. In general the picture Mrs. Treleaven presents is as accurate as present information permits, and represents a valuable summary of the present position of the study.

Historical students will doubtless be equally grateful for the Second Map which indicated the woodlands "as deduced from early literature," but this is somewhat outside the field covered by MAX.

C. F.

**The Rainbow Bridge: A Study of Paganism.** By John Strong Newberry. London: Macmillan, 1934. xv + 346 pp. Price 15s.

154

This is not a book to take seriously, although amusing as an example of what can be done in the way of synthesis by an author who persistently disregards all facts that do not suit his theory. The "rainbow bridge" is Bifröst, and Mr. Newberry has set out to show by what stages man rose from the concept of a purely earthly deity—a totem-god—to that of truly celestial beings. His stages are totemism, as Robertson Smith conceived it: the worship of a dying god, as among the Sumerians; then sundry modifications of this idea, as found among the Chinese, the Persians, the Egyptians, the Hebrews and the Greeks. Why he ends with Greek polytheism as it was (or, rather, as he supposes it to have been) in the age of Pericles, and says nothing of the immense theological advances made in that age, is not very clear. It would seem that he has no critical knowledge of any of the ancient languages in which the pertinent documents are written, and therefore his authorities, as given in the notes at the end of his book, are an odd mixture of first-, second- and third-rate standard works of reference and trifling *œuvres de vulgarisation*, with little indication that he knows how to distinguish between and evaluate them. As to his anthropology, he regards Lévy-Bruhl as "the leading authority" on savage mentality (p. 3), apparently knowing nothing of the extensive criticisms to which his views have been subjected; he declares (p. 6) that "the natives" of Australia—all of them, apparently, not only the much-discussed Arunta—"deny that union of the sexes has any influence on generation"; he informs us that the Indian cave-artists of the Vindhya Mountains and the makers of the Bushmen rock-paintings "must" have been closely associated with the Arunta, both in race and in the details of their religion (p. 7); that "every savage tribe"

(p. 11) believes that the souls of the dead pass into totems, and so forth. When he deals with those parts of antiquity whereof the reviewer has any knowledge, reality is left even further behind, for all ancient stories, even the most obvious sagas, become myths sprung from ritual, tales of every date and origin are jumbled together, anyone of whom it is asserted that he died (a statement not uncommonly made of mortal men) becomes, *ipso facto*, a dying god, while etymologies of the quaintest, with a preference for deriving everything from Sumerian, are invoked to solve all problems. Perhaps the most irritating feature of the book, since it renders it quite untrustworthy for the general reader, is the failure to distinguish between facts and deductions, often very hazardous, from the facts; a weakness which results from too much use of secondhand authorities and is to be found abundantly in every chapter.

H. J. ROSE.

**Social and Psychological Aspects of Primitive Education.** By J. M. Evans. The Golden Vista Press. 96 pp. 5s.

155

This book is clearly not written for specialists. It leaves our knowledge of primitive education much what it has always been—a heap of fragmentary and unsorted observations by field-workers. The task of piecing together and sorting out this material into a scientific monograph still awaits a student who has the knowledge and the courage to undertake it.

E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD.

**Thoughts, Talks, and Tramps: A Collection of Papers by Sir Everard im Thurn.** Edited with a Memoir by R. R. Marett. Oxford, 1934. 8vo. xxiv + 286 pp., map and portrait. Price 10s. 6d. net.

156

It is instructive to compare the diverse opinions formed by im Thurn's instructors, quoted by Dr. Marett in his racy biographical sketch, with the career that followed, and to note how the fine qualities of the man were recognized at once by men in such different lines of work as Hooker, Franks, and Tylor. He was fortunate in beginning young, through a series of accidents, as Curator of the Museum at Georgetown in British Guiana, immediately after taking his Oxford degree. Of his long administrative career, in British Guiana, in Ceylon, and in the Western Pacific, the papers collected in this volume give vivid and characteristic illustrations. Some of them are descriptive, and the famous 'Ascent of Raranna' well deserves re-reading; but others, such as the address to the British Association, *A Study of Primitive Character*, summarize a philosophy, and a policy, for colonial administrators, which was something of a novelty in 1914; and his Presidential Address to our Institute in 1921, *On the thoughts of South Sea Islanders*, is an intimate and sympathetic study based on a lifetime's experiences.

J. L. MYRES.

**Dilettantes of the Evolution Theory.** By Douglas Dewar. London: Arnold, 1931. Pp. 192. Price 12s. 6d. net.

157

A survey of the philosophical conception of evolution, by a field naturalist sceptical of current generalisations, and puzzled by the rarity of missing links, recent or fossil, between actual zoological groups, and by other familiar difficulties. He might be described, in his own phrase, as a "scientific creationist"; he specially favours Viaillelon's theory of special creation, and some of his own interpretations of biological facts and processes are ingenious.

J. L. M.



## CORRESPONDENCE.

**African Pedigrees.** (*Cf.* MAN, 1935, 24, 50.)

**158** SIR.—Lord Raglan's query seems based, if I may say so, on a misunderstanding. My pedigree of the Nandi *orkoiik* deals not with generations of any sort, but with individuals; and, according to my figures, the average length of the first five reigns is less than seven years. (Kopokoi, 10 years; Marasoi, 10; Turukat, 5; Kipterer, less than 5; Kimnyole, less than 5.) The facts are that up to 1890, the year of Kimnyole's death, the dates are not known definitely; from 1890 onwards they are recorded. In assigning dates to the first five *orkoiik*, it was therefore necessary to fit them in between 1860 and 1890. Kopokoi and Marasoi are now somewhat shadowy figures; but I came across indications that the reigns of Turukat, Kipterer and Kimnyole were short; and in the pedigree I prefixed the letter C to the first four dates to show that they were uncertain. After (and including) 1890 the dates are recorded, and the lengths of the reigns are as follows: Koitalel, 15 years; Kipeles, 6; Arap Kinekat and Parserion together, 12; Kimoson, 4; Arap Lein, the present *orkoiik*, has been in office for 7 years. I might add that the first date, that of the establishment of the *orkoiik* between 1850 and 1860, is based on an historical story which places the destruction of the Uasin Gishu Masae (not *Vasin Gishu* as printed in MAN, 1935, 24) between the times when the Juma and Sawe ages were in power (1851-1866: see *Table of Nandi Age-grades* in *J.R.A.I.*, LVII (1927), 427).

As to the average of years to a generation, I prefer to make use, when dealing with the Nandi group, of their own age-grade system instead of our ill-defined 'generation.' The Nandi system runs in a recurring cycle of 105 years, divided into seven periods of fifteen years during which each age is successively in power as the fighting age (*J.R.A.I.*, LVII, 426-428); and since a man's son always belongs to the age next but one below his own, one might take two ages = 30 years, as the equivalent of a 'generation' if necessary. Sons of Sawe belong to Kâplelach; of Kipkoimet to Kimnyike; of Kâplelach to Nyongi; of Kimnyike to Maina; of Nyongi to Juma; of Maina to Sawe; of Juma to Kipkoimet. As the following table shows, the reigns of the *orkoiik* have no connection with the ages.

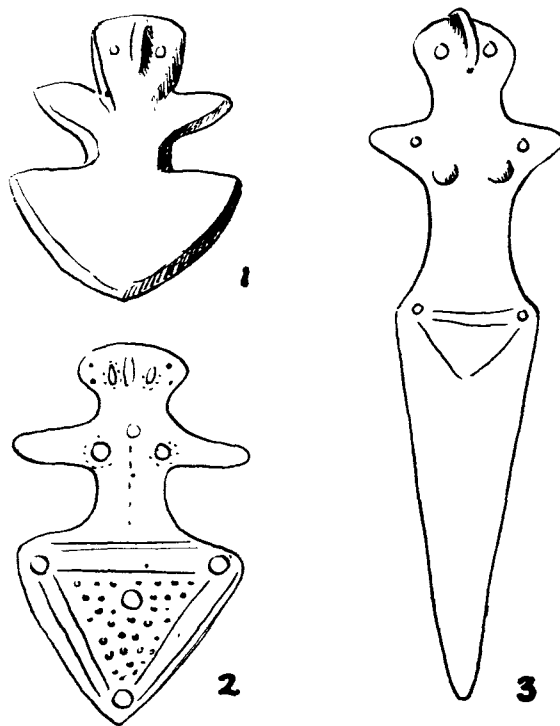
G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD.

—	Fighting Age.	Orkoik.
1851	Juma.	
1866	Sawe - -	1. Kopokoi c. 1860 or 1866. 2. Marasoi c. 1870. 3. Turukat c. 1880.
1881	Kipkoimet -	4. Kipterer c. 1885. 5. Kimnyole d. 1890. 6. Koitalel d. 1905.
1896	Kâplelach -	7. Kipeles d. 1911.
1911	Kimnyike -	8. Arap Kinekat & Lelimo, 1911. 9. Parserion, dep. 1923. 10. Kimoson, 1923-1927.
1926	Nyongi <sup>1</sup> -	11. Arap Lein, 1927.

<sup>1</sup> Nyongi should yield to Maina in 1941.

**Indian and Babylonian Figurines.**

**159** SIR.—The objects from Sari Dheri, North-West Frontier Province of India, published by Major D. H. Gordon (*J.R.A.I.*, (LXII) 1932, 163-173; MAN, 1934, 70) have a chronological interest even greater than that which its discoverer gave to them. Major Gordon states that these figures have no very clear affinity with any that he can find recorded from excavated sites, except some classical heads. Consequently, he dates the Sari Dheri site from the second century B.C. to the first century A.D. I submit to his consideration the



similarity between one of his pieces (fig. 2) and two figurines of high antiquity: fig. 1, from Tell Ahmar in Mesopotamia, dated towards 3,000 B.C.; fig. 3 from the Tripolje civilization of eneolithic Ukraine. Other pieces from Sari Dheri are subject to similar parallels. The Sari Dheri site may be of special interest to the Indus civilization, since the stratification seems to extend from the protohistoric to our era.

Louvain.

SIMONE CORBIAU.

**160** SIR.—I have read Mlle Corbiau's letter with much interest. I must own to ambiguity when I said that the figures from Sari Dheri had no affinity with any recorded from excavated sites. I meant Indian sites. But, although I had myself noted the spade-shaped figure from Tell Ahmar, I still maintain that a peg-shaped figure with nose pinched forward is a convention imposed, in many lands through many ages, by lack of skill in the material. The only feature of originality and invention is the applied and incised eye, which I believe to be almost, if not quite, unique. *Pachmarhi*.

D. H. GORDON, *Major*.





A CARVED WOODEN STATUETTE FROM THE SEPIK RIVER, NEW GUINEA.

CRANMORE ETHNOLOGICAL MUSEUM.

# MAN

## A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

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### ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

**New Guinea.** **With Plate K.** **Beasley.**  
**A Carved Wooden Statuette from the Sepik River, New Guinea.** *By H. G. Beasley,*  
*Cranmore Ethnological Museum.* **161**

The Sepik River district has long been recognized as the centre of a high artistic culture, differing in many ways from the adjacent British and Dutch territories. Unfortunately, no great collections have been made for British museums as a whole, and it is necessary to turn to Germany to find really important series. Even then it would be difficult to find a more artistically conceived example than the statuette on Plate K. The total height, including the feather headdress, is 31 inches (78.8 cm.). The material is a close-grained hard red wood, whilst the feathers are from the cassowary. A study of the facial lines reveals the outstanding technique possessed by these people. The dotted line on the breast and arm is purely ornamental, since no record is to be found either in Reche (*Der Kaiserin Augusta Fluss*, Hamburg, 1913), or Schultzejena (*Forschungen im Innern de Neuguinea*, Berlin, 1914) of the occurrence of keloids. The nose ring is of cane bound over and over. In the ear (not shown) is a ring of turtle shell decorated with a row of small cowrie shells, which is a common type in the South-east District, and may or may not belong to the figure. H. G. BEASLEY.

**Social Science.** **Herskovits.**  
**A Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation.** *Communicated by Professor Melville J. Herskovits,*  
*Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois.* **162**

Recognising the importance of the study of acculturation, and the varying points of view from which the problem has been approached, the Social Science Research Council, early this year, appointed the undersigned as a Committee to analyze the work on the problem already done, to study the implications of the term "acculturation," and to explore new leads for further investigation. After a number of meetings, the following outline was drawn up as a first step toward clarifying the problem and to serve as an aid in the classification of studies already made.

The work of the Committee will be facilitated, and its final report made the more complete, if its members have knowledge of as many of the studies of acculturation now being carried on as is possible. To this end, the tentative outline which has been drawn up to help organize its work is presented with the suggestion that information concerning acculturation studies now in progress be sent to the Chairman, or any member of the Committee, at the addresses indicated below. It will be particularly helpful if, in sending such material, the extent to which the data do or do not fall in with the categories set up in this outline might be indicated. It is expected that the results of the Committee's work will be made available to persons who communicate with it. The file of their names, and of the problems on which they are engaged, will also be available for the exchange of information and methods.

#### OUTLINE FOR THE STUDY OF ACCULTURATION.

I. DEFINITION :—"Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of

individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups."

*N.B.*—Under this definition, acculturation is to be distinguished from *culture-change*, of which it is but one aspect, and *assimilation*, which is at times a phase of acculturation. It is also to be differentiated from *diffusion*, which, while occurring in all instances of acculturation, is not only a phenomenon which frequently takes place without the occurrence of the type of contact between peoples specified in the definition given above, but also constitutes only one aspect of the process of acculturation.

## II. APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM :—

### A. *Listing* of materials available for study.

1. Published materials,—of prehistoric contacts (to indicate how acculturation has characterized human contacts from early times), as well as of contacts between primitive groups, between primitive and literate groups (both mechanized and non-mechanized), and between literate groups of either or both categories.
2. Unpublished materials of studies in acculturation which are completed or in progress.

### B. *Classification* of the above materials.

1. Do these studies treat of entire cultures or specific phases of culture ?
2. If the studies are restricted ones, what phases of the culture are treated ?
3. What are the motivations of the studies (insofar as this affects the type of material treated). *e.g.*, are they scientific, or are they designed to aid in the formulation of administrative, educational, or missionary policy ?

### C. *Techniques* employed in the studies analyzed.

1. Direct observation of acculturation in process.
2. Recent acculturation studied through interviews with members of acculturated groups.
3. Use of documentary evidence which gives historic testimony concerning early contacts which have resulted in acculturation.
4. Deductions from historical analyses and reconstructions.

## III. ANALYSIS OF ACCULTURATION :—

*N.B.*—The significance of physical type in determining attitudes operative in acculturation, as well as the importance of the concomitant occurrence of race-mixture or its prohibition, must not be overlooked as a factor which may pervade any situation, process, or result envisaged in this section.

### A. *Types of contacts.*

1. where contacts are between entire groups; or are between an entire population and selected groups from another population, *e.g.*, missionaries, traders, administrators, special craftsmen, pioneers, and their families, and immigrant males, all these considered with special reference to the elements of culture likely to be made available by the members of such special groups to the population among whom they live.
2. where contacts are friendly, or are hostile.
3. where contacts are between groups of approximately equal size, or between groups of markedly different size.
4. where contacts are between groups marked by unequal degrees of complexity in material or non-material aspects of culture, or both, or in some phases of either.
5. where contact results from the culture carriers coming into the habitat of the receiving group, or where it results from the receiving group being brought into contact with the new culture in a new region.

### B. *Situations* in which acculturation may occur.

1. where elements of culture are forced upon a people, or are received voluntarily by them.
2. where there is no social or political inequality between groups.
3. where inequality exists between groups, in which case any of the following may result :
  - (a) political dominance by one group, without recognition of its social dominance by the subject group;
  - (b) political and social dominance by one group;
  - (c) recognition of social superiority of one group by the other without the exercise of political dominance by the former;

## C. The processes of acculturation :—

1. *selection* of traits under acculturation :

- (a) the order in which traits are selected (in specific cases).
- (b) the possible relationships to be discerned between the selection of traits under the various types of contacts leading to acculturation, and the situations in which acculturation may occur (as set down under III A and B above).
- (c) partial presentation of traits under forced acculturation.
  - (a') types of traits permitted and forbidden to receiving group;
  - (b') techniques employed by donor group for imposing traits;
  - (c') types of traits whose acceptance can be forced;
  - (d') limitations of forced acceptance.
- (d) resistance of receiving group to traits presented to them.
  - (a') reasons for this resistance;
  - (b') significance of understanding resistance to traits as well as acceptance of them.

## 2. Determination of traits presented and selected in acculturation situations :—

- (a) traits presented by the donor group because of
    - (a') practical advantages, such as economic profit or political dominance;
    - (b') desirability of bringing about conformity to values of the donor group, such as humanitarian ideals, modesty, etc.
    - (c') ethical and religious considerations.
  - (b) traits selected by the receiving group because of
    - (a') economic advantages;
    - (b') social advantages (prestige);
    - (c') congruity of existing culture-patterns;
    - (d') immediacy and extensiveness of changes necessitated in certain aspects of the culture by the adoption of functionally related traits.
  - (c) traits rejected by receiving group.
3. *integration* of traits into the patterns of the accepting culture :
- (a) the factor of *time* that has elapsed since the acceptance of a trait.
  - (b) the element of *conflict* produced within a culture by the acceptance of new traits at variance with pre-existing ones, and the degree of conflict which ensues.
  - (c) *the process of adjustment* in acculturation :
    - (a') modification and reinterpretation of traits taken over;
    - (b') modification of pre-existing patterns resulting from the taking over of new traits;
    - (c') displacement of older traits in a pattern by new ones;
    - (d') "survivals";
    - (e') transfer of sanctions;
    - (f') shifts in cultural focus caused by acculturation;

## IV. PSYCHOLOGICAL MECHANISMS OF SELECTION AND INTEGRATION OF TRAITS UNDER ACCULTURATION.

## A. the role of the individual

- 1. as member of the selecting group: personality of the first individuals to accept foreign traits and their position in society as influencing selection and acceptance of new traits;
- 2. as member of the donor group: personality of the individuals who are in contact with the receiving group, their attitudes and points of view, and the way in which the group to which they belong is regarded by members of the receiving group as making for favourable and unfavourable reception of traits;
- 3. the individual as member of a special group in his society (priestly class, sib, secret society, etc.), and his position in this group, as accelerating or retarding acceptance of new traits;

## B. possible consistencies in personality types of those who accept or reject new traits.

## C. differential selection and acceptance of traits in accordance with sex lines, differing social strata, differing types of belief, and occupation.

- D. initial hostility and subsequent reconciliation of individuals to the new culture as a factor in integrating new culture-traits, and caused by
  - 1. intensity of contact;
  - 2. duration of contact and resulting habituation to new cultural elements;
  - 3. social, economic or political advantages resultant upon acceptance;
- E. psychic conflict resulting from attempts to reconcile differing traditions of social behaviour and different sets of social sanctions.

#### V. THE RESULTS OF ACCULTURATION.

- A. *acceptance* : where the process of acculturation eventuates in the taking over of the greater portion of another culture, and the loss of most of the older cultural heritage; with acquiescence on the part of the members of the accepting group, and, as a result, assimilation by them not only to the behaviour patterns but to the inner values of the culture with which they have come into contact.
- B. *adaptation* : where both original and foreign traits are combined so as to produce a smoothly functioning cultural whole which is actually an historic mosaic; with either a reworking of the patterns of the two cultures into a harmonious meaningful whole to the individuals concerned, or the retention of a series of more or less conflicting attitudes and points of view which are reconciled in everyday life as specific occasions arise.
- C. *reaction* : where because of oppression, or because of the unforeseen results of the acceptance of foreign traits, contra-acculturative movements arise; these maintaining their psychological force (a) as compensations for an imposed or assumed inferiority, or (b) through the prestige which a return to older pre-acculturative conditions may bring to those participating in such a movement.

ROBERT REDFIELD (*Chairman*). University of Chicago (Chicago, Ill.).

RALPH LINTON, University of Wisconsin (Madison, Wisc.).

MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS, Northwestern University (Evanston, Ill.).

#### The Stone Cairns of Northern Kenya. By John Parkinson.

**163** In *Antiquity* for June, 1933, and MAN, 1933, 102, mention is made of the stone cairns characteristic of certain parts of the Northern Frontier Province of Kenya as far as the Abyssinian boundary. They are to be seen typically at the administrative centre of Wajhir. Mr. Huntingford, the author of the first paper, considers them as being undoubtedly graves, in which conclusion Mr. Curle, who writes in MAN, agrees, although he admits that in one he demolished at Wajhir he found fragments of pottery but no bones. Mr. Watson (MAN, 1927, 30) states that he "broke up" many at Wajhir and discovered nothing.

Some years ago, when travelling through the Province, I also took the opportunity of investigating one of those conspicuous mounds of loose stones near the wells of Wajhir. Broken bones came to light, two fragments of pottery, and a roll of sheet copper about 2 inches long.

Another such roll had been found some years previously by a political officer during the demolition of a cairn in the same district. The pottery was formed of terra-cotta coloured clay, about  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch thick, and had formed part of a bowl about  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter. The edge was incised with transverse grooves. Two fragments, each about the size of a large pea, of a dull green earthy substance, probably containing copper, were picked up. Some of the bones had obviously been buried, for they were brown and discoloured by soil; they were the skull, lower jaw and femur of a hare and the skull of a mongoose. There were also a few bones of birds, not identified. For these determinations I am indebted to Mr. A. T. Hopwood, of the British Museum of Natural History. Although the country is somewhat dry at the present day for hares, the presence of such a species indicates no great change of climate, but the mongoose is not of the semi-desert type one would expect.

The other fragments of bones show no indication of having been buried; they are white, fragile, and human. They consist of the heads of two femora, two astragali, a piece of a fibula and some

vertebræ. All the stones composing the cairn being removed, a flat surface of limestone without a sign of a grave was laid bare.

It is difficult to account for the human bones not having been buried, except on the hypothesis that, like the Kikuyu, the former inhabitants of Wajhir threw their dead into the bush to be eaten by hyænas. Some of the cairns are no doubt graves, possibly of chiefs; some would seem to be certainly not, and I would suggest that they are surface stones piled up to clear the ground for agricultural purposes. If so, soil including the burrows of rodents, into one of which a mongoose had crept and died, might well be thrown upon the pile, together with any human bones chance put in the way. The wells of Wajhir were dug on the margin of a lake, and into a considerable thickness of freshwater limestone, proving a long-continued wet period. That they were dug is due, doubtless, to the failure of the rains and the continuance and increasing severity of the drought, which seems the final cause for the emigration of these people. Remnants of earthworks, resembling dams, were noted to the west of Eil Wak, on the border of Italian Somaliland.

Turning to British Somaliland, the stone walls of dwellings and other buildings forming a line of villages are well known in the west, along the Abyssinian frontier. They are mentioned by Burton (*First Footsteps in East Africa*). To-day no even tolerable water-supply exists in the immediate vicinity of any of the towns. It is to be presumed that they were abandoned for the same reason as that just given, namely, the increasing drought, which implies a rough contemporaneity of habitation, *i.e.*, the conclusion of the last wet period and the commencement of the present time of diminished rainfall, but a close correlation cannot be insisted on.

It is noteworthy that the graves of the people of the stone-walled villages are on the Somali pattern made to-day, while in the centre and east of the Protectorate cairns are very conspicuous and are always believed by the natives to be graves.

In examining the Somaliland ruins, I found a number of grinding stones, having a provenance other than that of the district in which they were discovered. Therein lay a clue to the route taken by their former owners.

JOHN PARKINSON.

#### Covenants. *By A. M. Hocart.*

In a paper on Blood-Brotherhood (MAN, 1935, 127) were discussed two forms of covenant, one used by the Azande, the other by the Pawnees, and called by Miss A. Fletcher, "the Hako."

164

The Hako is very valuable for theoretic purposes since it represents a stage of development from the creation ritual to the covenant pure and simple. It has not ceased to be a creation ritual, but on the other hand it is commonly resorted to in order to bind two tribes together. The blood covenant of the Azande, on the other hand, has become specialized as a means of binding; it has dropped all other purposes. As a consequence, its technique has been pared down to fit its specialized purpose, whereas the Hako preserves the full pattern, because it remains generalized.

There is another striking difference between them. The Azande rite causes the two parties to behave as we find cross-cousins behave wherever there are cross-cousins. The Hako, on the other hand, relates the two parties in the peace-making as Father and Son: those who take the initiative are visitors, and appoint one of their number as Father; the hosts select from their midst one who is the Son.

At first this difference seems to forbid that we should connect the two rituals as derivatives of a common original; but a closer analysis of the ritual pattern leaves a common origin as the hypothesis that best fits the facts.

A full-blown ritual requires two parties, male and female. These need not be man and woman, for the two parties come together as god and goddess, and the god and the goddess may be represented otherwise than by a man and a woman. In modern India a male and a female idol may be bedded together, in Vedic India a dead stallion and the queen. There is a Vedic rite of mating the king with the earth symbolically. The Pawnees use two feathered pipes to represent the male and the female in this same Hako; but the sacred marriage which gives birth to the Son takes place between the party of the Father and a corn-cob, which is called Mother Corn. Mother Corn is Mother Earth (Miss



Fletcher's *Hako*, 124). "The spirits of the corn and the spirits of the people present in the lodge at this time (that is the Father's) are to decide who shall be the Son." (*Hako*, 52) "Our spirits," says the priest, "and the spirit of the corn come together and unite for the purpose of finding the Son" (53). It is a sacred marriage of minds.

The male and female principles may even be represented by two men. In Vedic mythology two gods pair, and this is reflected in the ritual, or at least the explanation of the ritual. As usual, what is myth in one country is reality in another. In the royal consecration of the Igalas, as Mr. G. M. Clifford writes to me, one man lies on top of another and "they go through the motions"; the new king is then born from under the skirt of the man who takes the woman's part. In this case the Son is born from two men.

Obliterate all trace of sex, drop the son, and the result is a covenant between two men who are related as members of intermarrying parties, that is, two parties who perform the sacred marriage together. But the male members of two intermarrying parties, if they are of the same generation, are cross-cousins. Now there is evidence which suggests that the sacred marriage can take place not only between a male and a female cross-cousin, but between two male cross-cousins: a man's male cross-cousin is his male wife. Certainly the Loritja allow a bachelor of one moiety to keep a boy of the other. Among some hill tribes of Fiji a man calls his male cross-cousin my "cohabitor," though it is only a manner of speech. The Jukuns have not only male wives, but female husbands (Meek, *Sudanese Kingdom*, 71 and 116 f.).

We are thus led to postulate a parent creation ceremony in which two groups take part, male and female.

Let the male party be represented by a man from one group and the female by a thing, let the resulting son belong to the female side, and there results the Pawnee type in which group A is Father, group B is Son.

If the father is inanimate and the mother human, as in the Vedic horse sacrifice, then if the son belong to the male side the consequence should be: group A is Son, group B is Mother. Unfortunately, we do not know what the consequence actually is, or even whether a ritual of this type has ever become specialized as a covenant. The case remains, for the present, purely hypothetical.

In the Christian covenant there is only one *human* party, the congregation, regarded as female.

If the parties are two men, cross-cousins, and the son is cut out as irrelevant in a ritual which is no longer creative, but only binding, then you get the Azande type.

A creation ritual readily narrows down to a covenant. It as readily narrows down to a commercial transaction. In fact, covenant and commercial transaction are often undistinguishable, since it is chiefly with a view to the exchange of goods that communities like to get on together.

In the *Hako* ceremony the Fathers provided the garment and the regalia for the ceremony. These and other gifts remained with the Children. The Children in return made gifts of ponies to the Fathers. The things brought by the Fathers were taken by the Children "to some other tribe, when they in turn become the Fathers. Thus manufactures peculiar to one tribe were often spread over a wide territory" (*Hako*, 281).

The Fijian ritual also provides opportunities for exchange. That consequence of the ritual often becomes the purpose: ceremonial visits of condolence, 'the casting off of mourning,' were sometimes made a pretext for an exchange of commodities (my *Lau Islands*, 184). While I was in Lakemba the death of the chief's little daughter was seized upon by the people of Ale in Kandavu as an opportunity of opening up commercial relations with the richest State in Fiji. There never had been any relations between Kandavu and Lakemba: 'they did not know one another.' But the wife of the chief of Ale was related to the chief of Lakemba. She arranged with him that she should come to hold a potlatch. She thus opened a 'path,' a ritual one, along which henceforth the people of Ale and of Lakemba could travel to and fro on ceremonial and profitable visits. Such was the hope the leaders of Ale expressed in their speeches: but the Lakembans did not like the idea, because the balance of trade was against them, by which I mean that their exports would have exceeded their imports (*Lau Islands*, 79 f.).

The Azande also use their covenants for commercial purposes.

This change of function, this specialization, has been completely ignored in works on 'primitive'

trade. They usually drive a wedge right through the life of the people, splitting it up into 'economics' and 'ritual.' This artificial severance has recently been made the basis of an otherwise excellent survey of typical cultures. The defence pleaded is 'that religion and ritual may frequently have little genetic relation to the broad elements of economic and social life.'

It is a fact that in our community there are men who have narrowed down their pursuit of welfare to the buying and selling of shares, and that others have narrowed down their interests to church ceremonial. It is consequently possible for some theorists to specialize in economics and others in ritual. Though it is possible, one may doubt if it is wise, and our economists might have been less bewildered by events since 1914 if they had not separated so completely economics from life at large. However that may be, there are other communities where such specialization of studies is quite impossible, because it does not exist in the objects of study. There every individual engages, more or less, in a common, vague pursuit of welfare by a way which cannot be described as ritual, or commercial, or political, because it is all of them at once. Such are our Fijians or Pawnees, whose activities have not branched out into economics, religion, diplomacy, and all these specializations, but remain undifferentiated. Like all generalized activities, they may seem to us highly inefficient. A Fijian potlatch distributes wealth, binds tribe to tribe, entertains, circulates news, stimulates travel, all at the same time, but it does none of these as efficiently as our highly specialized shops, embassies, theatres, newspapers, and tourist agencies. Yet it somehow 'gets there' without the violent crises, the maldistribution, the top-heaviness, the worry, the boredom, and all the other ills attendant on intensive specialization.

A. M. HOCART.

### India: Technology.

Raghavan.

**The Gourd-form in Pottery.** By M. D. Raghavan. Government Museum, Madras.

Interesting light on gourd-forms in pottery is furnished by a few specimens in the Government Museums at Madras and Bangalore.

165

Vessel A is from Coorg and is now in the Mysore Government Museum, Bangalore; vessels B and C are from graves in Mysore and are now in the Madras Museum. Photographs of the specimens in the Mysore Government Museum were supplied by the Curator, Mr. K. Anantasami Rao, to whom my thanks are due for the photographs and for permission to reproduce them. The illustrations give a better idea of them than any verbal description.

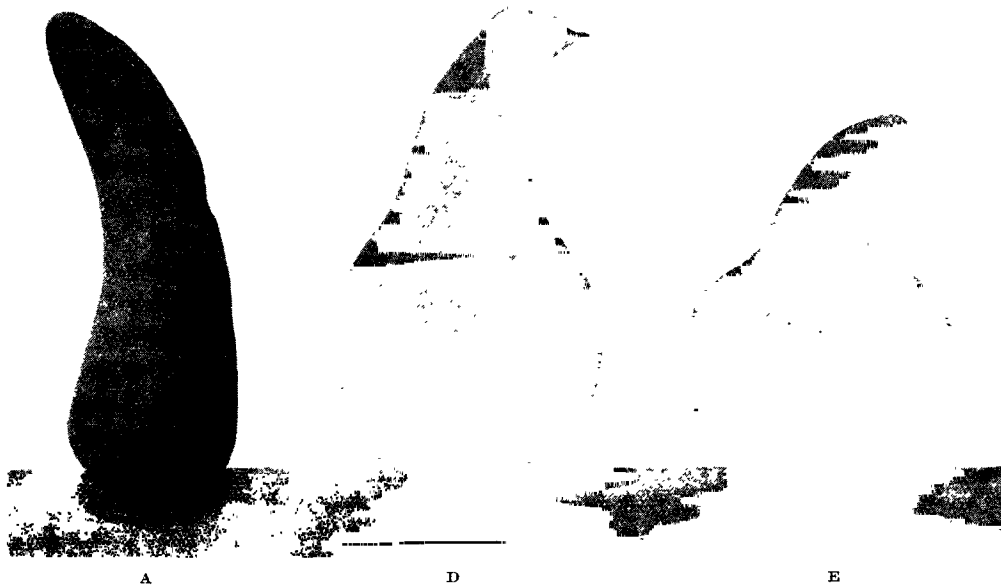
While vessel A shows a close resemblance to a gourd—note the rounded base and the thick body—vessels B and C bear a closer resemblance to a bull's horn than to a gourd—note the flat base and the thinner body tapering quickly to a sharp point. After what were these vessels originally moulded—horns or gourds? For an answer we have to look to the manner in which they were manufactured.

Vessel A seems to have been moulded whole and fired intact, but vessels B and C, though first moulded whole, were subsequently cut into equal halves while the clay was still soft.

Vessel B, being now open, we may examine its interior. The lower half of the interior has been smoothed out, obviously with a spatula, but the upper half has not been interfered with. Even a casual examination of the upper half shows fibrous lines which cannot be attributed to some merely mechanical process applied after the vessel had been moulded. No explanation of the fibrous marks is possible unless we assume that the vessel was originally moulded over a core covered with some fibre, such as that of the coconut or over the fibrous core of a dried gourd, such as is illustrated (Fig. F, core of the common *peerikkinga* of South India, *Luffa acutangula*). The impressions on the inner side of the vessel would then answer to the interstices in the fibrous surface of the core. We have, therefore, to assume that vessel B was moulded whole over a dried gourd and then cut into halves when still soft, enabling the gourd-core to be removed before firing. That the vessel was cut before firing and while the clay was still moist is also apparent from the finger-print depressions on the inner surface of the lower halves, which form the container of the vessel.

Though the interiors of vessels A and C are not open to inspection, these vessels have a feature that points to an almost identical mode of manufacture. All the three vessels show a vent-hole in the side; but while the vent is high up in vessels B and C, that in A is about half-way up, and is decidedly larger. While a thin rod could be inserted into vessel A and worked up and down, and both above

and below the hole, it will be impossible to do so in vessels B and C. If the latter two vessels had been fired while retaining the gourd-core within, the charred remains of the core could not be disintegrated with a rod into pieces small enough to be shaken out through the vents high up in them; so the vessels



A—E ARE OF CLAY: F IS THE FIBROUS CORE OF A SOUTH INDIAN GOURD. *Luffa acutangula*.  
 Dimensions :—A. 7 INCHES HIGH,  $6\frac{1}{2}$  INCHES GIRTH. B. 9 INCHES LONG,  $8\frac{1}{2}$  INCHES GIRTH.  
 C.  $9\frac{1}{4}$  INCHES LONG,  $8\frac{3}{4}$  INCHES GIRTH.

had to be cut into two halves. But the lower location and the larger size of the vent in vessel A would permit of a rod being worked all way round the interior of that vessel; so it was unnecessary to cut up the vessel to throw out the charred core. No other explanation fits.

The resemblance that vessels B and C bear to a horn is, therefore, not confirmed by the mode of manufacture. Even the flattened base may be due to the gourd, which had served for its core, having been cut flat at the broad end. None the less, the sharpness of the taper, both inside and out, is too marked to have been due to any desire but that of imitating a horn. Thus vessels B and C would seem to be moulded over a gourd, but to imitate the shape of a horn.

While as examples of a vessel formed of two halves, the specimens are unique, the technique of the cut invests it with equal interest. The cut is so skilfully done that it extends right round the object in a regular and even line, producing two halves of perfect symmetry and proportion. Another significant feature is the perfectly smooth edge of the cut surface, which shows that the edges must have been ground after the cut had been made.

Bruce Foote considers these to be seed-boxes. There is no reason why we should believe these vessels to have been anything but vessels for holding small grains of every-day domestic use, such as coriander and cummin. The meticulous care bestowed on securing tight and closely fitting edges bears out this suggestion as to its probable use as a vessel for storing tiny grains, which should not drop out through crevices in the sides. As receptacles for storing such grains they must have formed very convenient vessels, which could have been kept hanging from a peg, suspended by a string passing through the small holes nearer the tip, as in A and C. The vent-hole present in all the specimens no doubt served as the mouth of the vessel, through which grains were let in and out as required.

Two pottery vessels, D and E, of the gourd type (now in the Mysore Government Museum at Bangalore), come from cromlechs in Savandrug in Mysore State. Both are decidedly dippers—the one small and squat, and the other bigger and longish. How wide was the range of this type of pottery could be seen from the fact that ‘numerous broad-tongued ladles’ and ‘ladles with thick round ‘handles’ have been reported from pre-dynastic Egypt,<sup>1</sup> the gourd-form of which is too obvious to be overlooked.

How did such pottery happen to assume the gourd-shape? While the ultimate origins of such forms are not still palpable, we derive a useful hint from a Sanskrit dramatist, Bhavabhuti, of about the seventh century A.D. In his *Uttara Rama Charita* he makes one of his characters speak thus<sup>2</sup> :—

“ Rama still through many a day,  
Though exterior calmness screen  
His sorrow, deeply mourns his queen;  
And his declining form declares  
The anguish that his bosom tears;  
For soonest shall the soft heart perish

That loves a secret grief to cherish,  
As gourds with coat of clay encased  
Earliest into ripeness haste.  
Brooding o’er his bosom’s woes,  
Rama now desponding goes.”

Here we find clearly described an ancient horticultural practice of coating a gourd with clay to enable it to ripen quickly. When a gourd so coated happened to go neglected, the gourd would have ripened and then shrivelled and perished, leaving behind a vessel in the shape of a gourd. Experiments on the basis of such an experience should have enabled primitive man to produce ladles and dippers imitating the gourd in shape.

But what made primitive man copy the gourd-form in pottery? Did he imitate a vessel made directly out of a shell, or did he adapt a vessel casually produced by applying a coat of clay to a gourd? An answer to this query appears impossible at present, but the progress of our knowledge of the mind of primitive man would seem to depend largely on our being able to find answers to questions such as this.

M. D. RAGHAVAN.

## PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

**The Second International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences.** Oslo, 1936.

It will be remembered that at the first International Congress of this name, held in London in August, 1932, the Norwegian invitation was accepted for the holding of the next Congress in 1936 at Oslo. The President is Dr. A. W. Brøgger, and the Committee of Honour and Committee

166

<sup>1</sup> Childe, *New Light on the Most Ancient East*, p. 60 fig. 17 (1 and 2).

<sup>2</sup> *Uttara-Rama-Charita*—Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus; translated from the original Sanskrit by H. H. Wilson, F.R.S., 1871. I am grateful to my friend and colleague, T. G. Aravamuthan, for directing my attention to this illuminating passage.

of Organization in Norway have now issued their general invitation to all those interested in pre-history and the transition to history therefrom, to take part in the Congress which will be held at the beginning of August next year. The invitation and prospectus, together with the Rules of the Congress and the names of its governing personnel, are contained in two beautifully illustrated pamphlets, which may be seen in the Institute's Library. Copies of these may be obtained from the Bureau of the Congress, Universitetets Oldsaksamling, Oslo. The form of enrolment is appended to the Prospectus, and it may be hoped that a large number of Fellows of the Royal Anthropological Institute and other readers of MAN will become members, particularly since the first Congress held in London established such a firm connexion with Archaeology in this country, and to a special degree with the Institute, which joined with the Society of Antiquaries in issuing the original invitation.

The representatives of Great Britain on the Council are Sir Charles Peers, F.S.A., who was the President of the London Congress in 1932, Professor J. L. Myres, F.S.A., who is still one of the General Secretaries, and the two British National Secretaries, Professor V. Gordon Childe, F.S.A., and Mr. C. F. C. Hawkes, F.S.A.

The subscription has been fixed at 25 Norwegian crowns (rather under 25/-); each member may enrol up to two members of his family as Associate Members, for whom the subscription is 12 crowns. Each member is entitled to a copy of the *Proceedings of the Congress* when published, without further payment: and as these, like the London Congress Proceedings, will comprise the whole series of papers read at the session, printed in concise form, many even of those who may be unable to make the journey to Norway should welcome the opportunity of adherence.

The main lines of division of the Congress's work will follow those laid down for the London session, at which the Sections were as follows:—

- I. Human Palæontology: the Origin and Evolution of Prehistoric Man.
- II. The Palæolithic and Mesolithic Periods.
- III. The Neolithic, Bronze, and Iron Ages in the Ancient World:
  - A. Western and Northern Europe.
  - B. The Ancient East.
  - C. Central Europe and the Mediterranean.
- IV. The Neolithic, Bronze, and Iron Ages outside the Ancient World.
- V. The Transition from Prehistory to History.

The Organizing Committee is bringing the following leading subjects forward for the especial attention of the Congress:—

1. The European connexions of the culture of palæolithic type recently discovered in Finmark or Arctic Norway.
2. Prehistoric Rock-Engravings, with special reference to those of the Stone and Bronze Ages in Scandinavia.
3. Agriculture and the vestiges of farms and tillage of the later Bronze and Iron Ages.
4. The stylistic history of Germanic Art in the Dark and Early Middle Ages.
5. The textiles of the Viking Age, studied primarily in the rich material (still unpublished) recovered from the Oseberg ship.

It is requested that intention of adherence to the Congress may be signified before May 1st, 1936. Those intending to offer papers should communicate with either of the British National Secretaries, Prof. V. Gordon Childe (The University, Edinburgh,) and Mr. C. F. C. Hawkes (British Museum, London, W.C.1), before March 1st. The National Secretary for the Irish Free State is Dr. Adolf Mahr, Director of the National Museum, Kildare Street, Dublin.

**British Association for the Advancement of Science.** *Norwich, 4-11 September, 1935.*

**167** Under the presidency of Sir Arthur Smith Woodward, F.R.S., the Anthropological Section devoted most of its time this year to prehistoric archaeology, and especially to the pleistocene problems of East Anglia.

The President's Address on *Recent Progress in the Study of Early Man* discussed the non-European origins of the pleistocene fauna, which now seems to have been essentially Asiatic, the Eurafian "land bridges" formerly assumed by Boyd Dawkins and others having been shown by Vauflery to have had no reality. Malta was

connected with Sicily, but not with Africa; the Gibraltar Strait, though navigable by Man, barred access to animals; while resemblances between African and West European species are sufficiently explained by a common Asiatic origin. Such an origin is also the most probable for Man: for the sporadic finds of earliest human remains lie round the margins of the Asiatic land-mass. The distribution of the Mio-Pliocene apes supports this view, and the uprising of the Himalayan chain supplies an occasion for that change from forest to open country which is presumed by Man's zoological history. The wide dispersal of "fossil men" and their geological positions make it probable that those divergent forms were contemporary in early Pleistocene times, and they certainly passed through similar phases of culture. Even within the Neanderthal or Mousterian group there were diversities of type, some connecting the rest with "modern" Man. The spread of humanity to Australia and beyond Behring Straits is, however, not earlier than the morphological establishment of *Homo sapiens*. Some North American artefacts combine Solutrean tradition with fresh advances in technique, but are not easily dated, since the zoological chronology is obscure here, and obscurer still in South America.

Mr. J. Reid Moir's summary of the *Antiquity of Man in East Anglia*, and his views on the *Patination of Eoliths*, led to some discussion, and the joint session with Section C for the *Geological Relations of Early Man in East Anglia* cleared up a number of misconceptions and concentrated attention on the principal points where fresh evidence is needed, from the Pliocene "Bone Bed" below the Red Crag to the postglacial Solutrean and Magdalenian phases. Dr. Grahame Clark described a *Bone Find from the North Sea bed*; Mr. A. Leslie Armstrong, the *Evolution of flint mining at Grime's Graves, Norfolk*; and Mr. J. E. Sainty the important pleistocene section at *Whittingham near Norwich*. Of more general bearing is Mr. M. C. Burkitt's examination of *Technique as a criterion of culture*: the types of implements need to be supplemented by the methods of production, and (so interpreted) reveal two main trends, the coup-de-poing culture of Africa, and the Asiatic phases which lead to Mousterian technique. Miss Garrod assigned the *Mousterian people of Palestine and their culture* to the end of the Riss-Wurm interglacial phase; Mr. Th. D. McCown described their anatomy, and Sir Arthur Keith, F.R.S., emphasized the value of this fresh evidence of ever-present variability in early Man. Dr. C. P. Martin's *Irish skulls* included two distinct Neolithic types, resembling respectively the "river-bed" and the "Iberian" types. The very broad base of many skulls, modern and prehistoric, is attributed to habitual sowing. Drs. M. A. MacConaill and F. L. Ralphs dealt with the *Development of Pigmentation in a Nordic group*, namely the population of Sheffield: all forms of pigmentation in the adult seem to be derived from an infantile combination of light blond hair with dark blue eyes, which is stabilized from the thirteenth year at seventeen per thousand. The same workers de-

scribed the *Post-natal development of the Brain* in the same Nordic group. Messrs. O. Davies and E. E. Evans summarized recent work on *Horned Cairns in Ulster*, of megalithic culture and Scottish affinities. Mr. J. Foster Forbes discussed the *Megalithic circles and monolithic monuments of north-east Scotland*. Mr. C. S. Orwin found the *Origin of Lynchets* not in early agricultural operations, which he thought inadequate, but to some other cause: some pre-agricultural lynchets, however, have been ploughed in modern times.

Mr. R. U. Sayce discussed the *Principles of Folklore*, Dr. Margaret Murray the *Dating of Folklore*, and Canon J. A. MacCulloch *The Household Brownie as an ancestral spirit*, more closely allied to spirits of the dead than fairies in general, and especially connected with the hearth, and with the belief in a household snake.

Mr. K. Jackson asked *What was the language of Roman Britain?* and argued that while Latin was certainly the speech of the administrative and upper classes, the mass of the people spoke British, and that it was a mainly British-speaking population whom the Anglo-Saxon invaders encountered, in lowland and highland alike. Professor D. Atkinson described his excavation of the *Saxon Site at Caistor near Norwich*, drawing special attention to the finely wrought pottery with stamped decoration. A visit was paid to the site, where work was in progress.

Dr. Gordon Ward reconstructed the economic and territorial arrangements of the *Roman Colonia in Britain* from survivals of roads and allotments of land at Brancaster and near Lincoln.

Other archaeological contributions were by Dr. A. M. Blackman on *The value of Egyptology in the modern world* to philologists and economists as well as to historians, craftsmen and students of literature and religious thought; and by Mlle. Corbier on the *Archaeological Surprises* occasioned by wide-ranging comparisons of fabrics and styles, of dates reputed different.

Miss B. Blackwood analysed the *Physical Types of the N.W. Solomon Islands*, Miss E. Dora Earthy described in detail the *Kisi tribe of Liberia*; and Lord Raglan raised the general question, *Was early man a scientist?* arguing that there was no evidence that "needs lead to artefacts," that "ability to use implies ability to invent," or that "local sequence" implies local evolution? He thought that anthropology was at present overloaded with theory.

Mr. Trevor Thomas criticised current *Approach to Primitive Art* from the geographical and environmental viewpoint, which was intellectual, and from that of modern art, which is emotional and subjective. The corrective to such theoretical extravagances is supplied by study and analysis of technique and materials, among the specimens themselves.

Reports were received from committees on *Kent's Cavern*, *Caves in the Derbyshire district*, *Cave deposits on Mount Carmel*, *Sources of Sumerian Copper*, and *Blood-groups of Primitive Peoples*.

In other sections of the British Association the

following communications were of anthropological or ethnological interest:—

- S. F. Markham. *The Meteorological basis of Civilisation*.  
 Baron G. de Geer. *Natural Annals so far deciphered for 15,000 years*, reviewing the study of laminated clays (*varves*) and long-lived trees.  
 Prof. F. Balfour Browne (Pres. Sect. D). *The species problem*, followed by formal discussion.

- Prof. E. B. Stebbing. *The encroaching Sahara; increasing aridity in West Africa*.  
 D. T. Williams. *Linguistic divides in Wales*.  
 Alice B. Lenne. *Agriculture in Mesopotamia in ancient and modern times*.  
 Prof. C. W. Valentine. *The origin of laughter in young children*.  
 M. M. Lewis. *The conceptual speech of infants*.

## REVIEWS.

### AMERICA.

#### Archæological Researches at Teotihuacan, Mexico.

By S. Linné. (*Ethnographical Museum of Sweden: New Series, Publication No. 1.*)  
**168** Oxford University Press, 1934. 12 x 9. 236 pp., illustrations, maps, bibliography. Price 25s.

Dr. Linné and his wife spent eight months of 1932 in Central America, and a large portion of this time was spent in excavations near Teotihuacan. On the advice of Dr. Vaillant, he selected a site about 200 yards south of Xolalpan, here he found large quantities of pottery from the Mazapan culture. This has been considered to have occurred after the Teotihuacan culture but before that of the Aztec.

On this site, Las Palmas, he found large quantities of flattish bowls, some with inverted lips, of a light brownish ware, ornamented by zones of wavy red line as well as various forms of more or less atypical ware. Further work was done in a maize field at Xolalpan, where Dr. Linné was fortunate enough to discover a large building complex, consisting of various courts with rooms grouped round them. Remains found above the floor of this building were of Mazapan type, among which was a clay figure of the god Xipe. This figure was in fragments, but fortunately Dr. Linné was able to restore it. The remains below the floor were assigned to the Teotihuacan culture.

The book is, therefore, first and foremost an account of the material found on these two sites. The author gives a detailed plan and sections with his description of the building complex, and also a perspective drawing which helps the understanding of the plans considerably. He then proceeds to describe the finds, classifying them under various headings: Earliest Artifacts of the Teotihuacan Culture, The Mazapan Culture, the Aztec Culture, Various Clay Objects, and Objects of Bone, Obsidian, Stone, etc.

The work is characterized throughout by the care and skill which one would expect from such an experienced Museum man as Dr. Linné, and the illustrations are excellent. But the book suffers a little from the translator, who on one or two occasions lapses into rather pedantic and unusual English; for instance, he frequently uses the word 'plane' for 'flat.' But the author's meaning is always understandable.

However, Dr. Linné does not confine himself to a mere cataloguing of his finds. His introductory chapters deal with the early history of Central America, and more particularly of Teotihuacan. He

does not put forward any elaborate theories of his own, but is content to set forward the views of other archæologists and give his comments, which tend to support Dr. Lehmann's view that Teotihuacan flourished between 500 and 600 A.D.

Perhaps, of more practical value than the introductory chapters and the description of his material is an excellent series of appendices and a very full and up-to-date bibliography. The appendices deal with various technological processes. Negative painting he correlates with stopping-out processes throughout the world, but shows a distribution map of American examples only. Other pottery distributions dealt with are those of in-fresco painting, pottery moulding and of roasting dishes. As the author says in his conclusion, there are good reasons for objecting to the use of the map method when studying culture elements, especially from an archæological point of view. But, as he himself says in his defence, "It is nevertheless an excellent way of obtaining a clear survey of extensive material. If not productive of positive results, the method in question may inspire an opposition by which research may profit. Perhaps the most important part of it is to provide not only the reader, but also the author, with a stimulating study of dry described material, a study that may act as the oxygen needed to maintain the flame of thought."

In this connection, it is interesting to compare Dr. Linné's figure 192, a figurine head with full cheeks and mask-like headdress, with the chubby-faced type of whistle-figurines from Lubaantun, figured in Capt. Joyce's account in the 'Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,' Vol. LXIII, P. VIII, 15. (Among his collection are specimens even more like that from Teotihuacan.) The explanation would appear to be that of a trade connection. The similarity of such an unusual type seems too remarkable to be overlooked.

Dr. Linné has certainly succeeded in producing a very interesting and at the same time stimulating book, which is really valuable from the Museum point of view, and more so because he has refrained from the nebulous theorizing which lessens the value of so many otherwise good books.

ADRIAN DIGBY.

**Geographical Notes on the Barren Grounds.** By Kaj Birket-Smith. *Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition, 1921-24. Vol. I, No. 4.* Copenhagen, 1933. 132 pp., 45 figs. Kr. 5-00.

Dr. Birket-Smith was in the east and south of the

Barren Grounds in 1922 and 1923. He makes it plain that his work there with the Fifth Thule Expedition was ethnological, and thus he does not pretend that these Notes approach a geographical treatise. They do not, it is true, but they do provide a very adequate and considered description of the various aspects of the country.

Birket-Smith regards the Barren Grounds as a geographical unit, but they exhibit several characters rather than a marked single one in support of this view. The region may be defined as that tundra territory which widens northward and lies west of Hudson Bay. Three points roughly define its general limits: Churchill (59° N.) in the south, Repulse Bay in the north-east, and Coronation Gulf (68° N.) in the north-west. Thus the greater part of the area, which is both continental and Arctic, lies outside the Arctic Circle. In it the old-fashioned Eskimo culture stagnated (the Caribou Eskimo), for it lacks the position that would allow a maritime character to be superimposed upon that culture. In addition to the Caribou people, the Netsilik and Copper Eskimo of the north coast, who certainly have acquired some maritime culture, are far more continental than any other of the Eskimo tribes that Birket-Smith has encountered.

The chapters in this Report are concerned with History of Discovery, the Morphology of the Region, the Climate, Biogeography and Topographical Description. The descriptions are fairly good, and the author has marshalled and considered his references well, but no real conclusions are reached.

In his conclusion, Birket-Smith wonders what the future of the Caribou Eskimo will be. He finds the outlook somewhat depressing. At the time of writing the population is small and dependant on the caribou, which, on account of the high-powered rifles recently introduced, are rapidly dwindling. Trapping, in which the Eskimo have become involved, indirectly leads them to neglect the caribou. This means that they must fall back on the rations imported by the trapping companies, a type of food thoroughly unsuitable to them. Birket-Smith advocates the introduction of tame western reindeer, in the breeding of which the Eskimo might occupy themselves. The difficulties attendant on this are that the wild herds might absorb the tame, and that while the former might not exist in sufficient numbers for food they would probably be numerous enough to upset the breeding.

The translator has done his work well and the Report makes pleasant descriptive reading. Two maps are included, one of the Southern Barren Lands (58° N.-66° 20' N., 85° W.-99° W.) on a scale of 1:1,500,000, and a very small scale geological map of the Barren Grounds. The official Greenland orthography is used for the setting down of Eskimo place-names. IAN COX.

**Contributions to American Archæology, Vol. II, Nos. 5 to 12.** *Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1934.*

This volume maintains the high level of the publications of the Carnegie Institution.

The first paper, on 'Two Recent Ceramic Finds at Uaxactun,' by Mr. A. Ledyard Smith, with notes by Dr. S. G. Morley, is especially noteworthy as showing the first complete initial series ever found on pottery. Morley gives the most probable interpretation of the inscription, and the beauty of the two pieces is well shown in the paintings of them by Miss M. Louise Baker.

Mr. Lawrence Roys writes on 'The Engineering Knowledge of the Maya,' which he discusses from the point of view of a professional engineer. A study of this kind has long been needed and Roys' paper is most illuminating. The reviewer has profited much, both

from the technical discussion, and from the clear statement of the differences in building methods in different parts of the Maya area.

Mr. Robert Wauchope contributes an interesting study of the 'House Mounds of Uaxactun,' with notes on the pottery by Mrs. Ricketson, while Mr. C. L. Lundell writes on the 'Ruins of Polol and other archaeological discoveries in the Department Peten, Guatemala. Two of the sites, Polol and Chakantun, are new, and the former has two initial series.

Mr. Alfonso Villa R. deals with 'The Yaxuna-Coba Causeway,' which he was the first to traverse in its entirety and to map.

Mr. J. Eric Thompson gives an interesting and suggestive discussion of 'Sky Bearers, Colors, and Directions in Maya and Mexican Religion.' A second paper of his in this volume is on 'Maya Chronology: The Fifteen Tun Glyph.' In it he announces a most important discovery of his, which marks another definite advance in the decipherment of the Maya glyphs. The reviewer is in entire agreement with Thompson that the Maya time unit for higher counts was the tun, not the day, and he is naturally pleased that certain of his own views are endorsed by Thompson.

The last paper is by Mr. C. L. Lundell on the 'Phytogeography of the Yucatan Peninsula,' with an appendix on its Grasses by Mr. J. R. Swallen. Apart, from its strictly botanical matter, it is of interest in connection with the problems of the growth and decay of the Maya civilization.

Altogether this volume is well worthy of study by the Maya student. RICHARD C. E. LONG.

**Atitlan: An Archæological Study of Ancient Remains on the Borders of Lake Atitlan, Guatemala.**  
*By Samuel Kirkland Lothrop. Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1933.*

171

This is a valuable record of excavations conducted by the author on the southern shores of Lake Atitlan. It is noteworthy that neither the architectural features nor the pottery show any very close resemblance to the classical Maya of the Old Empire, although they are undoubtedly Maya in a large sense, with certain non-Maya elements, indicated by the pottery. This book is very largely concerned with ceramics—a subject which is every day becoming more important for the Maya student. Here, as elsewhere, the ceramic record shows a surprising complexity of cultures. One might expect that the culture of the Atitlan region would diverge more or less from that of the Old Empire territory, but apart from this the Atitlan ceramics show that very varied influences were at work. It is more surprising that there should be such wide differences in the pottery of the Old Empire sites as compared with each other, as, for instance, between Holmul and Copan. Ceramics will, no doubt, some time or other, solve the still uncertain problem of Maya chronology, but up to the present they seem to raise a number of new problems while the old ones are still unsolved. It is clear that there were numerous local cultures, and in addition that many outside influences have to be taken into account.

The book, like all of Dr. Lothrop's, is an excellent piece of work, clearly written and cautious in its conclusions while carefully analyzing the material obtained. One might mention one small slip on p. 14, where it is said that xiquipiles were units of 24,000. The Aztec xiquipilli meant 8,000, not 24,000, but the cacao was made up in bags of three xiquipilli each, therefore each bag contained 24,000 cacao nuts. The book is well illustrated and, apart from the scientific value of the pictures, some of them show really beautiful views of the scenery near the lake. RICHARD C. E. LONG.



**Indianerstudien im Nordöstlichen Chaco.** By Herbert Baldus. 9" x 6½". Leipzig: C. L. Hirschfeld, 1931. 230 pp.

**172** The author travelled in the North-Eastern Chaco among some tribes visited by former explorers. Such field work is the more valuable as it implies the author's renunciation of new discoveries, and his concentration on correcting and supplementing the records of Boggiani and others, and on describing the present condition of the Indians who, of course, have been still more alienated during the last few decades from their original culture. The book is, however, a valuable contribution to American ethnology. Dr. Baldus was able to contrast the Chamacoco Indians, who are hunters and nomads, with the agricultural Kaskihá tribe who are identical with the Guanás. The results cover material, social and spiritual culture. A student of Professor Richard Thurnwald, he was able to begin field work with good command of ethnological and psychological method; and thus was able to throw light upon the obscure tribal organization of the Chamacocos, the division of labour between men and women, and the economic conditions. He is especially interested in psychology and collected (von den Steinen and Koch-Grünberg) a series of native drawings. Dr. Baldus is undoubtedly an ethnologist of great promise. LEONHARD ADAM.

**Verhandlungen des XXIV Internationalen Amerikanisten-Kongresses, Hamburg, 7-13 September, 1930.** Hamburg, 1934. 8vo. pp. lxxi + 322.

**173** The editors of these *Proceedings*, Drs. Grossmann and Antze, are to be congratulated on the completion of what is always a difficult task, to present a permanent record of a scientific congress. The report of proceedings is throughout in German, but the principal communications are in the languages used by their authors. To the formal record of the programme (pp. i-lii), and the resolutions adopted by the Congress (pp. liii-lvi) is appended a list of the communications already printed elsewhere, deposited in the Congress archives, or presented in published form (pp. lxi-lxvi) during the Hamburg meeting. Then follow thirty-three selected communications, *in extenso*, covering all the sections into which the work of the Hamburg Congress was divided:—History and Geography, Physical Anthropology, Archaeology, Ethnography, Mythology and Religion, Language. Several of these are well illustrated. The remainder of the communications are printed by title only. J. L. M.

#### ARCHÆOLOGY.

**The Bucheum.** By Sir Robert Mond, LL.D., F.R.S.E., and Oliver Myers, with chapters by T. J. C. Baly, D. B. Harden, J. W. Jackson, D.Sc., G. Mattha and Alan Shorter, and the Hieroglyphic Inscriptions. Edited by H. W. Fairman. London, Egypt Exploration Society, 1935. 3 vols. xvi + 203, 92 pp., plates 172. Price £2 10s. 0d.

**174** It is interesting to see how much a conscientious worker can extract from unpromising material. To many excavators 'this horrid Roman stuff' would have been provocative of contempt only, but Mr. Myers has succeeded in making his book a standard in the method of handling the Romano-Egyptian period. Though handicapped by having to train both himself and his assistants he has produced a book of very high merit. It is surely time, however, that a protest should be made against flooding the archaeological field with untrained men. Not one person in that expedition had received the most elementary training in field archaeology, not one had even handled or drawn a pot; and, as all archaeologists know, the losses due to ignorance and inexperience are

continuous and irreplaceable. In spite of such losses, what remains has been worked up with a thoroughness deserving of the highest praise. Our knowledge of animal worship in Egypt has been greatly increased, and the ritual of the bull-burials, hitherto only known from literary sources, is now thoroughly understood. The importance of the book lies in the light it throws on an obscure period of Egyptian history, and on the careful and accurate interpretation of the finds. M. A. MURRAY.

#### AFRICA.

**The Religious System and Social Organization of the Herero. A Study in Bantu Culture.**

**175** By H. G. Luttig. Utrecht, Kemink, 1934. 121 pp. This is a Dissertation for the Doctorate of Letters at the University of Leyden, as stated in a paragraph in Dutch on a title-page otherwise English. On the next page are two paragraphs, one in Dutch and one in German, conveying thanks to missionary and academic authorities in Holland and Germany for assistance rendered. This polyglot method is followed throughout. The author, though using English, quotes practically all his German authorities in German and gives no translation. As the quotations form a considerable part of the book, the student who does not read German is deprived of much that is valuable.

One has to take for granted that the translation into English is the author's own work. On the title-page he states that he was born in South Africa. The book is printed in Utrecht and the translation is adequate. Failing any statement to the contrary, the reader is left to the conclusion that the monograph is the work of one who has never lived among the Herero of South-west Africa and has prepared his thesis at second-hand. His bibliography shows that he has read widely.

Along with the book has been sent an inset in Dutch containing the author's eight 'Points' or 'Theses,' which are as follows:—

I. The conception which the 'Report of the Native Economic Commission' (1932) has of the religious significance of cattle among the Bantu, and which it expresses in the sentence, "The cattle, from being used, in religious ceremonies came to have a religious character," shows that the real significance of the place and function of cattle in that religion has not been understood.

II. The ideas 'animism,' 'pre-animism' (mana-theory) and 'totemism' alone are not sufficient to make a primitive religion understood.

III. The school of Functional Anthropology which rightly stresses the study of the functioning of a primitive culture in real life, is wrong in opposing what it finds necessary to describe as "antiquarian anthropology" (cf. Malinowski, *Africa*, Vol. III, p. 408).

IV. The failure of the Jameson Raid (1895) must mainly be put down to the unwillingness of the majority of the populace of Johannesburg to join in the revolt against the Transvaal Republic, and to the discord between Rhodes and the National Union at Johannesburg.

V. The failure of the policy adopted by the British Government towards the natives, must be looked upon as one of the main causes of the abandonment of the Orange River Sovereignty in 1854.

VI. As the social, juridical, religious and economic aspects of a primitive culture are closely related, it is obvious that none of these can be studied entirely independently. Therefore, Bantu law should be taught in connection with the other components of Bantu culture.

VII. The founding of a central ethnological bureau in South Africa is not only necessary for the promotion of ethnological science, but also of essential interest for the solving of the native problem.

VIII. It is necessary for missionaries, as well as native commissioners, to get, in addition to a knowledge of Bantu languages, a thorough education in ethnology.

Fortunately, the book itself does not traverse this wide field. Also, and most fortunately, it is concluded by an excellently compact summary of its six chapters, which effectively—and in English—displays the author's argument for an "intimate connection between the 'social and the cosmic dualism' observable in Herero belief and organization. He then proceeds to a 'comparison with the religious and social systems of 'other African tribes': a brief and restricted comparison; and then closes with a note upon the 'general 'significance of Twins.'" The central theme of the monograph is that of a people, now shattered and harried out of all semblance of their earlier state, whose social patterns mirror forth what the author describes as a "cosmological dualism" in the divine; an 'upper' and 'lower' partnership expressed in the double name, Ndjambi Karunga, but a partnership involving both "a unity and an antithesis."

The name 'Ndjambi' will at once indicate to many readers a link between the Herero and other Central African peoples. There is much of interest in the authors' marshalling of his material in the interests of his thesis, but at times certain parts of his structure seem to rest on rather doubtful foundations. This is noticeable where argument is based upon the meaning, or supposed meaning, of certain Bantu words and roots. But all the important Herero material is here brought together in a way to invite, indeed to challenge, criticism. T. C. Y.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

**Der Geist der Vorzeit.** By R. R. Schmidt. Berlin (Kiel), 1934. 240 pp., 50 pls., and 100 figs.

The present work by the well-known author of the important monograph *Die doluviale Vorzeit Deutschlands* is meant for popular (though intelligent) readers. It is therefore printed in eye-fatiguing gothic script, but is well illustrated. There are also a number of tables at the end which demonstrate in convenient form the various correlations. Starting with a chapter on the Ice Age in Europe, the author passes on to an account of the various human remains which have been found, and finally to a description of the different cultures, special reference being paid to the art. It cannot be said that there is much new material presented; the author is less concerned to write a permanent monograph than to supply in convenient form a sketch of the probable life and psychological outlook of some of these amazing peoples who lived so long ago.

M. C. B.

**The God of the Witches.** By M. A. Murray. D. Litt. Sampson Low, Marston & Co. i + 214 pp. Price 8s. 6d.

Dr. Murray's main thesis is that until recent times there persisted in Europe, side by side with

Christianity, a religion whose central figure was a god of fertility, represented either by an animal or by a man disguised as an animal: it had its roots in the palæolithic cultures. At intervals of seven or nine years the head of the cult, who was regarded as an incarnation of the god, or a substitute was slain. Dr. Murray claims that William Rufus, Thomas à Becket, Joan of Arc and Gilles de Rais are to be included among the victims. The cult was apparently preserved by those descendants of the Neolithic and Bronze Age populations who escaped massacre at the hands of fierce Celtic tribes of the Iron Age. These remnants of the older population became known as witches or fairies. The priesthood of their religion was organized into covens or bands of twelve people who were in close attendance on a leader; and it was mainly against these covens that the witch-persecution was directed.

The book contains a good deal that is puzzling and much that is interesting and stimulating. It might be worth while to consider whether two or more things that were originally more or less distinct from one another have not been fused together. A good deal of the evidence points to a survival of a cult of nature and perhaps of ancestral spirits. Witchcraft, however, is an anti-social practice carried out in secrecy, and is distinct from religious organization. It is possible that the followers of an unofficial and repressed religion have been confused with witches and wizards. Dr. Murray is to be congratulated on having written a very interesting and provocative book, and one that will provide material for much argument.

R. U. S.

**Readings in Sociology.** By Wilson D. Wallis and Malcolm M. Walling. New York, 1930. Svo., 639 pp.

This book contains one hundred and eighteen readings, culled from many uneven sources, with suggestions for further reading. The student who reads them may obtain a superficial knowledge of many things; from this source alone he will obtain a profound knowledge of none. He will merely learn that many minds have speculated vaguely on many problems. His knowledge of facts will decrease rather than increase, for here facts are shrouded in a thick fog of obscurity.

It is pleasant to see a reprint of Sir J. G. Frazer's description of the cursing of M. Venizelos, but it is not likely that its inclusion in this volume will give it the greater permanence it deserves.

J. D. C.

**Totemism and Exogamy. A Treatise on Certain Early Forms of Superstition and Society.** By Sir J. G. Frazer. In four volumes. Macmillan, 1935. Price £2 10s. 0d.

An exact reprint of the first edition of 1910, except that the maps showing the distribution of the customs are omitted.

H. C. L.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

**The Spirit of Language in Civilization** (cf. MAN, 1935, 152).

SIR.—Dr. C. O. Blagden, in reviewing Karl Vossler's book, quotes his statement that "many languages can be studied and acquired, but only that one can be immediately experienced which was used at the time at which one worked one's way from the state of an infant to that of a member of a language community." Mr. Blagden makes the criticism that "this distinction plainly breaks down in the numerous cases of persons who have started with two languages and

"kept both of them up." As a bilingual (Welsh and English) Welshman, I find it difficult to accept your reviewer's criticism. My knowledge of two languages dates back to my first schooldays, English being then the language of education for monoglot Welsh children. But despite the fact that I 'started' from a very early age 'with two languages and kept both of them up,' Welsh is in a very definite way the only language I can 'immediately experience.' The same is true of all my fellow-Welshmen whom I know to have been educated in similar circumstances. To give an example:

While I knew long before the age of five that *dŵr* in Welsh was 'water' in English, my mental and spiritual reactions to the two words have always been very different. The Welsh word immediately brings into my thought rich spiritual associations of a varied nature, but even now, after many years' residence in an English-speaking city, 'water' connotes only one or two such things as the water-rate!

Perhaps Mr. Blagden had in mind those persons who have been taught two languages even before the age of five. My experience of such people is that in every case one of the two languages predominates, and that here again only one is 'immediately experienced.' It appears to me that Vossler's sub-chapter on "National 'Language as experienced Language,' is a very sound exposition of the problem. The question arises whether, in countries such as Wales, attempts at early bilingualism are not wholly detrimental, since they only succeed in impoverishing the subject's spiritual experience and in weakening his grasp of the spirit and the letter of *both* languages.

IORWERTH C. PEATE.

### Nubian Rock Pictures.

**181** SIR.—The recent account of the Nubian rock-pictures by Mr. J. H. Dunbar, *Sudan Notes and Records*, XVII, ii, 1934, is a notable addition to the literature, as Mr. Dunbar has had exceptional opportunities for studying the Nilotic pictures and comparing them with the European. One of the most remarkable of these pictures is of an archaic ship, of over 20 rowers on each side, hauled by a rope and 15 men; it may record the expedition of Sneferu or some later Egyptian. Some may dissent from Mr. Dunbar's view that the elephant disappeared from Nubia so early as the Upper Paleolithic. The earliest camel pictures he dates to the Roman occupation, but camels were used by Ptolemy II in Upper Egypt and for transport to Siwa, and Esarhaddon used camel transport in his invasion of Egypt. If the views of Commandant Cauvet (*Le Chameau*, p. 8) are accepted, a conservative view for the earliest date of these camel-pictures would be the third century B.C. Mr. Dunbar points out that no rock pictures of definitely pre-historic date or magical character have been found yet in Nubia. He equates the earliest predynastic period with the Magdalenian of Europe and the oldest Nubian rock-pictures with the Middle Aurignacian. As compared with Oweinat and other sites, there is a complete absence of paintings. ARTHUR E. ROBINSON.

### FOLKLORE.

#### A fertility door in Holland.

**182** SIR.—On May 22, 1914, the Queen of Holland visited West Friesland (= West Frisianland, west of Enkhuizen), and came to Westwoud to see the farm of Burgomaster Neefjes. She entered the farm, not through the front door, but through a side door. The burgomaster informed Her Majesty, when she asked "Why there was such a fine door " in front of the farm?" that according to an old tradition in West Frisianland, it was only brides and dead people passed through that door (shown in the photograph).

This fertility door is also found in Finland and China. I mention this tradition to draw attention to the parallel in prehistoric times, described by Prof. V. Gordon Childe in *The Forest Cultures of Northern Europe*, p. 326, a culture extending probably from England to Finland and linked with other cultures thus :—

Fosna-komsa<sup>1</sup> } Angara valley.<sup>2</sup>  
Maglemose

whereas the long barrows of the Drenthe province and the cultures of Zandwerven<sup>3</sup> in West Friesland are an old link with the Baltic cultures.

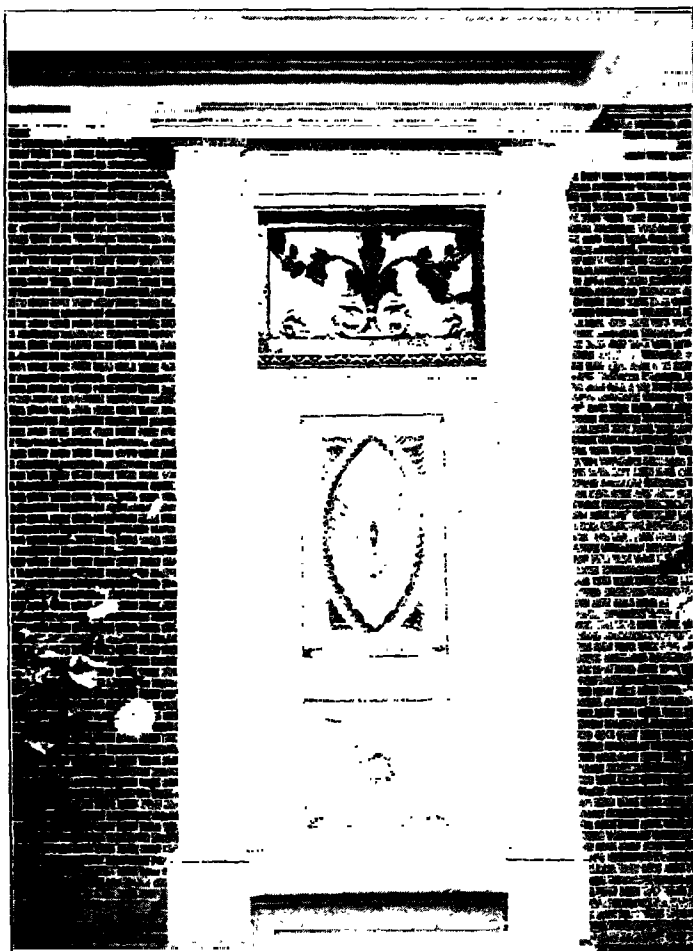
J. BUTTER.

Deventer.

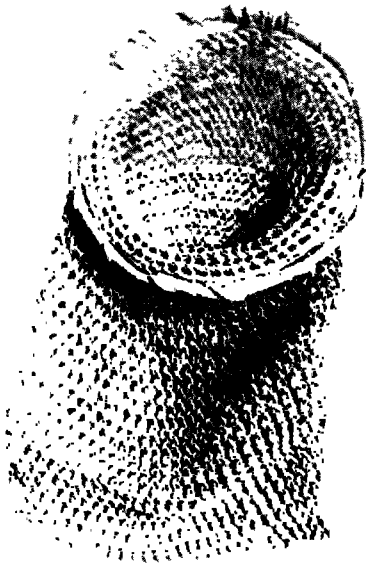
[N.B.—<sup>1</sup>The Fosna and Komsa cultures are represented by sites with stone implements (tranchets and microliths) on the 44 m. strand (Kristiansund, etc.) in Norway (*Bergen's Mus. Årbok*, 1929, 3; *Universitets Oldsakersamlings Skrifter*, Oslo, 1929).

<sup>2</sup> Angara Valley, near Toms; tools of schist, hornblende, and quartzite, and bone implements, including harpoons. *Realencycl.*, xii. p. 56, *Wien. Präh. Zeitschrift*, xi, p. 142.

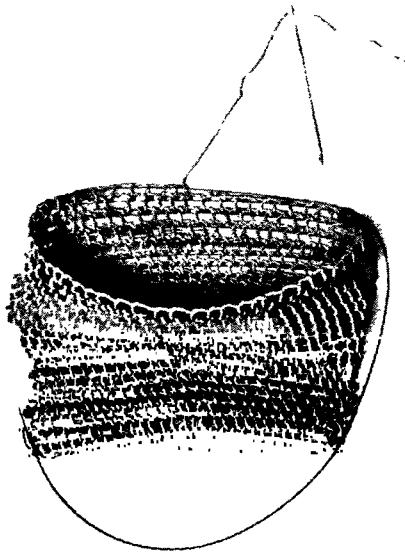
<sup>3</sup> F. van Giffen, *Die Bauart der Einzelgräber*, Taf. 117.]



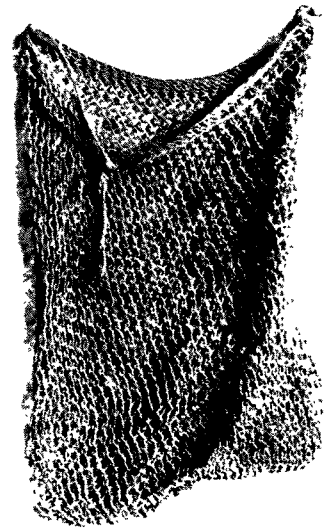




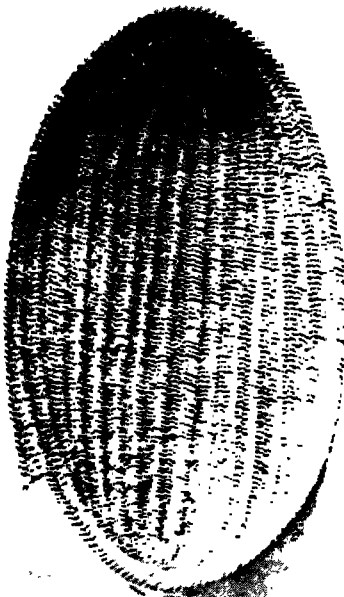
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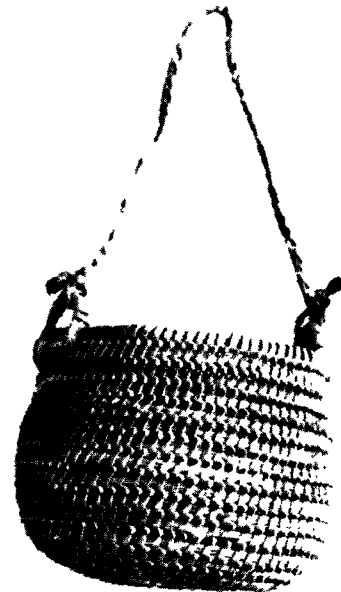
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10



8



6

**KNITTED BASKET-WORK FROM THE TUKUNA INDIANS, BRAZIL.**  
**GOTHENBURG MUSEUM.**

*For descriptions see note on page 163.*

# MAN

## A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

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### ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

#### America, South: Technology.

#### With Plate L.

Rydén.

Notes on a Knitting Technique from the Tukuna Indians, Brazil. By Stig Rydén, Gothenburg (Göteborg) Museum, Sweden.

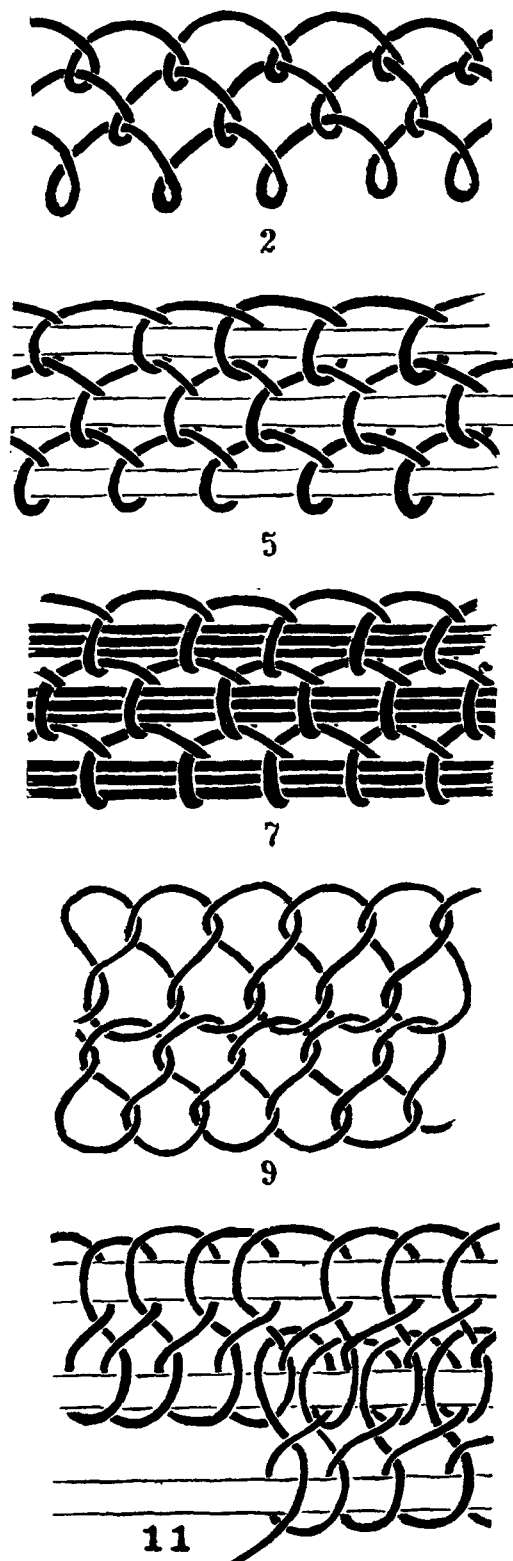
183

In a collection from the Tukuna (Ticuna) Indians, acquired by the German-born Brazilian explorer Curt Nimuendajú in 1929 on Rio Solimões for the Gothenburg Museum, are, *inter alia*, preserved two carrying-nets (Figs. 1 and 3) (Nimuendajú, Curt : *Besuch bei den Tukuna-Indianern*, Ethnologischer Anzeiger Bd. II : 4, Stuttgart, 1930, sid. 188). In one of these nets (Fig. 1) the mouth is kept open with a narrow wooden branch bent into a circular hoop, while in the other (Fig. 2) no such arrangement is found, but a cord for carrying is provided instead. Both nets are manufactured of vegetable fibre, and the knitting technique employed is seen in detail in Fig. 2. The Tukuna collection also includes a partly finished carrying-net (Fig. 4). From this unfinished piece of work it is evident that the loops were formed by means of a bone needle on a thin sliver of uniform thickness, probably cut out from the skin of the petiole of a palm leaf. The sliver is allowed to remain in the net until the knitting is completed, whereupon it is broken up and removed. The presence of this uniformly thick sliver ensures that the loops of the net are all turned out even-sized. In this case the sliver performs a function corresponding to that of a mesh gauge, and the retention of the sliver in the meshes while knitting is going on tends to make the net more easily handled as the work continues. The method of forming the loops on the sliver will be apparent from Fig. 5.

Koch-Grünberg (*Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern*, Berlin, 1909-10, Part II, Figs. 12, 13, p. 39) depicts a number of fishing implements from Rio Aíary, in Brazil, where the same knitting technique has been employed as in the carrying-nets of the Tukuna. These fishing implements are designed for catching small fish and crabs, and consist of a more or less circular net kept open by means of a bent twig. These smaller-sized fishing nets are, in contradistinction from the larger variety, among the Rio Aíary Indians always woven in the technique just referred to. As to the method employed in the weaving of these nets nothing is mentioned by Koch-Grünberg. It may, however, be supposed that they were manufactured by the same method as were the carrying-nets of the Tukuna tribe. For it may be noted that Koch-Grünberg in the same connection illustrates a "network basket" for crab-fishing, and in this basket the sliver is still left in the finished article, that is to say, the knitting technique is identical with that of the Tukuna net prior to the breaking up of the sliver.

Already in the earliest treatise known to me on South American knitting technique, a brief essay published by P. Radin in 1906 (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Band 38, Berlin, 1906, p. 938), the author's attention is turned to the technique here dealt with. At that time very little authentic material was available, and scantier still were data as to methods of manufacture. Thus he supposes that in the knitting two slivers were used, one that was pushed in for the purpose of securing in their places the loops already formed, and another for determining the size of the loops.

It is not impossible that the knitting technique here described constitutes a development of a certain basket-weaving method, viz., the so-called coiled basketry technique. Especially striking is the similarity between this knitting technique and the variant of coiled technique that occurs in



Tierra del Fuego. A basket from the Ona tribe executed in this technique is depicted in Fig. 6, of which a detail is shown in Fig. 7. This particular basketry technique is, however, so far as I know, absent in the Amazonas region, while on the other hand there exists to this day among the Apinayé and Canellas Indians of eastern Brazil the variant of the coiled technique in which the ultimate spiral is fastened to the last but one by pulling the connecting string through the next foregoing instead of—as in Fig. 7—making a loop round the whole of it. (Cf. Mason, Otis T., *Directions for collectors of American basketry*, Smithsonian Institution, Part P of *Bulletin of the United States National Museum*, No. 39, Washington, 1902, Fig. 31). This technique occurs besides also in other localities in the Amazonas region. Coiled technique is nowadays almost entirely discarded by the two Brazilian tribes just referred to, but was formerly no doubt considerably more widely distributed in South America. In that continent it seems to be steadily dying out.

In another work of Mason (*Aboriginal American Basketry*, Annual Report of the Board of the Smithsonian Institution, Report of the U.S. National Museum, Washington, 1904, p. 248), he has also pointed out the similarity between the knitting technique here dealt with (Fig. 2) and the coiled technique employed in basketry manufacture, and describes it as “looking as all-coiled basketry would if the foundation were removed.” Again he says of it: “Further on illustrations will be given showing the wide extent of this technical process of coiled basketry without foundation. Examples in the U.S. National Museum come from as far south as Paraguay and even the Straits of Magellan. It is in common use as far north as northern Mexico. Both the possession of different material and the demands of a tropical life have occasioned the employment of this particular technic in articles of common use about the household. Its relation to coiled basketry and bead work is shown by the fact that women in making the fabric use a needle to carry the thread or string around through the row of work proceeding. A small rod or mesh gauge is used to secure uniformity in the size of the meshes.” In the last-mentioned work (Fig. 204) Mason, besides, depicts an Arawak woman with a carrying-net executed in the technique seen in Fig. 5, i.e., with the wooden sliver left in.

FIGURES 2, 5, 7, 9, 11, KNITTING TECHNIQUES: TUKUNA INDIANS, BRAZIL.

For descriptions see note on p. 163.

It is not impossible, however, that the knitting technique recorded from the Tukuna Indians—in which a sliver is employed—may have originated in African regions. For it may be noted that in the West African collections, which have been added to the Gothenburg Museum by the explorer G. Bolinder, there is a woman's fishing net (Fig. 8) from the Mendi tribe of central Sierra Leone, exhibiting the technique illustrated in Fig. 9. Bolinder's collection also includes a similar net half-finished (Fig. 10) from the same tribe. This piece of work discloses that in this case, too, the loops have been formed on a uniformly thick sliver which is broken up and removed when the work process is completed, that is to say, in the manner used by the Tukuna. The actual knitting technique is, however, as will be seen, somewhat different in each case. The Mendi net is woven of fibre strings, and in the technique generally known as a 'figure-of-eight,' or double loop (Fig. 9). The method of forming this kind of loop by means of a sliver of uniform thickness will be apparent from Fig. 11. The figure-of-eight loop is not unknown in South America. It occurs, for example, frequently in knitted caraguata satchels in the Chaco, although these are always woven without the aid of a sliver or mesh gauze, and the piece of knitting under process is made more easy to handle by keeping it extended between two sticks planted perpendicularly in the ground. For the distribution of the figure-of-eight loop, see Erland Nordenskiöld, *An ethnographical analysis of the material culture of two Indian tribes in the Gran Chaco* (Comparative Ethnographical Studies I), Gothenburg, 1919, p. 201. The Gothenburg Museum possesses a partly finished satchel from French Congo (Bakuba), made in the same simple loop technique as the Tukuna carrying-nets. As to the actual mode of manufacture, this differs however in this case from that of the latter. The sliver is left in the last row of loops made, and is evidently pushed forward as the work proceeds. Hence it will be seen that the technique is identical, but the sliver has lost its function of constituting a support for the fabric while the work is progressing, and only acts as a gauge for effecting a uniform size in the loops or meshes.

It is not impossible that the method dealt with above (that of forming the loops on a mesh gauge left in all through the process of finishing the net) was introduced into the Amazonas region by negroes. The West Coast of Africa constituted, as we know, the principal recruiting area of the slave hunters, the eastern coast of Brazil being a not unimportant market for this trade. It is only natural that those negroes brought along with them to their new home country a considerable number of their old culture elements and manufacturing methods. STIG. RYDÉN.

DESCRIPTION OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS IN PLATE K AND IN THE TEXT.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| Fig. 1. Carrying-net. Tukuna. Depth, 20 cm.               | Fig. 7. Knitting technique in basket, fig. 6.  |
| .. 2. Knitting technique in carrying-nets, figs. 1 and 3. | .. 8. Woman's fishing net. Mendi. Central Sierra Leone. Depth, 80 cm., width, 45 cm.   |
| .. 3. Satchel with carrying strap, Tukuna. Depth, 35 cm.  | .. 9. Detail of net, fig. 8.   |
| .. 4. Satchel, half-finished. Tukuna. Width, 20 cm.       | .. 10. Fishing net, half finished. Mendi. Central Sierra Leone. Greatest width, 28 cm. |
| .. 5. Detail of net, fig. 4.                              | .. 11. Detail of net, fig. 10.   |
| .. 6. Basket. Ona. Width, 12 cm.                          |  |

All the above objects form part of the Gothenburg Museum collections.

**Is the Savage a Scientist?** *Excerpts from a paper read by the Rt. Hon. Lord Raglan at the Norwich Meeting of the British Association, September, 1935.*

We have no reason to believe that primitive man *needed* artefacts; he could have lived, as the apes live, without them. The statements so confidently made about primitive man are no more than speculations, and usually involve the fallacy of assuming that the modern savage is primitive. In fact the modern savage has a pedigree as long as our own, but remains a savage because he never invents or discovers anything. 184

This is not, of course, the impression that one gets from works of ethnography. We are often told that the Bongabonga have discovered the art of iron-smelting, or that the Waggawagga have invented an ingenious fish-trap, but nobody has seen them doing it.

The belief that savages invent is fostered by the stories of culture heroes who are always purely mythical, by the use of the term 'folklore' as if it meant things invented by the uneducated, and not merely lore which has ceased to be current among the better educated, and by the assumption that local sequence of artefacts implies local evolution.



It might be possible to find in Afghanistan specimens of every firearm from the Brown Bess to the Short Lee-Enfield, together with proof that all these weapons were made locally. This would not, of course, establish the evolution of modern firearms in Afghanistan, nor can an analogous sequence establish the fact of local evolution anywhere. All over the world we find people making artefacts which we know they did not invent.

The savage never invents or discovers anything, because any departure from tradition is regarded as treason and sacrilege; far from being free to experiment, he is not even allowed to imitate the methods and processes which tradition has assigned to other groups or to the opposite sex.

Every advance in material culture, the history of which is known, has taken place at some populous centre, in an atmosphere of wealth and leisure, and in association with developments in religious and political thought. We do not know who laid the first foundations of civilization, but we can be quite sure that they were people very different from the modern savage. Nobody would expect to learn how the early fathers of Christianity thought and acted by plunging into the wilds of Calabria or Connemara, and it is equally futile to try to find out how the early fathers of civilization thought and acted by plunging into the wilds of Central Australia.

Experiment is really a kind of individual play, and the savage indulges little in individual play, in fact he indulges far less than the civilized in any form of play. This fact is obscured because the savage often hunts and dances, and obviously enjoys so doing, but these hunts and dances are regarded not as play, but as social obligations.

Experiment, again, inevitably involves a great waste of time and material, and the savage, even if other conditions were favourable, has not enough time and material to waste. That necessity is the mother of invention is a complete fallacy. "Prosperity, not need, is the mother of invention, or at least the fairy godmother," said Dr. Harrison, in his admirable address [*Proc. Brit. Ass. (Bristol)*, 1930, p. 137ff.] The story of the motor-car, far from showing it arising from a felt need for improved means of transport, shows it being developed as a hobby in the teeth of the law and of popular disapproval, by a small group of rich men.

The story of the bow and arrow, were it known, would probably turn out to be similar. Far from being simple and obvious, it is really a highly complex piece of mechanism. At its first invention, possibly by someone playing with a bowdrill, itself a luxury article, it could have been no more than a toy, and much development and experiment would be needed before it could be used even to kill small birds. In Australia the natives have never had bows, and in many parts of Africa they seem to have lost the art of making effective bows, and taken to the throwing-spear instead.

Another supposed simple invention is that of fire-making with two sticks, but this again is by no means so simple as it may seem. It is pretty obvious that friction produces warmth, but far from obvious that it produces fire. This method may also have been discovered by means of the bowdrill, and people who had the bowdrill must have been long in possession of fire. The diffusion of the two-stick method of making fire seems to be purely religious; fire made in this way is believed to promote fertility.

Most, if not all, savages, have a calendar; it is commonly supposed that they compiled it for themselves by some such method as cutting notches in sticks or tying knots in string, but such a feat is quite impossible. An accurate calendar would be of little use to the savage, whose seasons are determined by climatic changes, and the inaccurate calendar, which he has, can be, and is, used only to fix religious ceremonies.

The essence of compiling a calendar is to bring about a correspondence between the lunar and solar years; the Arabs seem never to have achieved this feat, since the Moslem year is, of course, still purely lunar, but, though our information on this subject is extremely imperfect, it would seem that most modern savages, like the ancient Greeks, have a year of twelve lunar months, and intercalate every fourth year. To realize the possibility of this it would be necessary to count the days and months over a period of at least eight years. Can anyone imagine a savage dealing with over three thousand knots or notches, and getting the answer right?

And since the savage could not invent a calendar he would be incapable of discovering facts which can only be learnt by an accurate use of the calendar. It is impossible to imagine how people,

who had not a written calendar, and were able to make notes upon it, could ascertain anything of the movements of the stars and planets, or learn to distinguish between them. Nor could they measure the period of gestation, which is still apparently unknown to many Australian tribes.

Let us take another alleged primitive invention, the cradle. The accepted theory seems to be that in many parts of the world savage mothers, having learnt by experience that babies ought to be rocked to sleep, put on their thinking caps and devised a simple rocking machine. Not only, however, is the distribution of the cradle limited, but doctors tell us that rocking is definitely harmful to babies. The cradle seems to be merely a miniature boat, and the practice of rocking babies is probably derived from an ancient custom of putting newborn princes into boats. The origin of this custom is unknown, but its existence is attested by the story of Moses in the bulrushes, and a large number of similar myths.

The boat itself is supposed to have been evolved from the dug-out canoe, which was invented in many parts of the world by savages who, having paddled about on logs and decided that they would be more comfortable with their toes inside, proceeded to hollow out the logs. The step is an impossible one, since there is no intermediate stage between the log and the finished canoe, and the latter requires a different technique of manipulation. It is possible, I think, that the original boat was a coffin. The coffin is a box which was gradually evolved to prevent the earth from coming in contact with the corpse. If a change of eschatological belief led to the committal of corpses to the water instead of to the earth, it would explain not merely the origin of boats, but the fact that in many places coffins are made in boat shape. Such a theory will seem absurd only to those who fail to realize that among many communities, in ancient as well as in modern times, the care of the soul has seemed more important than that of the body.

Apparently simple types of furniture, such as the chair, table and bedstead, have almost certainly a religious origin. The chair is derived from the throne, a platform upon which the king squatted in order that his sacred person might be kept free from contact with the ground. The table and bedstead were similarly evolved in connection with a religious system quite beyond the scope of illiterate savages.

Bees have been kept all over the world for thousands of years, yet it was not till well on in the last century that anyone thought of putting a box on top of the hive so that he could remove honey without destroying the hive. Five hundred years hence the independent inventionists, if there are any left, will scoff at the suggestion that this invention was diffused from a single centre, and will maintain that so simple an idea would occur to anyone who had reached the stage of beekeeping.

RAGLAN.

### **Africa : Technology.**

**Culwick.**

**Pottery among the Wabena of Ulanga, Tanganyika Territory.** *By G. M. Culwick.*

The Wabena of Ulanga are an offshoot of the Wabena of the Njombe highlands of Tanganyika Territory, and consist of those Bena clans which migrated eastwards into the upper Ulanga Valley about sixty years ago, together with certain of the lowland clans (Wandamba) which they absorbed into their organization and one or two colonies of Wangoni who settled in their country and became subjects of their Chief. There are a few missionaries, but no other white settlers in their country, which is nearly two hundred miles from the railway and isolated from the outside world by high hills on three sides and extensive swamps on the fourth, and difficulties of communication have retarded the penetration of external influences. In the sphere of material culture, this enables one to watch the introduction of new ideas and techniques at a stage already past in more accessible and consequently more advanced areas.

Recently I turned my attention to pottery in Ubena, and I watched some of my friends among the Bena women make a series of pots which displayed what seemed to me a most interesting mixture of old and new ideas.

Pottery-making is a sociable affair in Ubena, and several women who had nothing much to do that day joined our party under a grass shelter in the fields, where there were roasted corncobs and a little beer for refreshment, while a number of other people of both sexes looked in for a while for a chat and a sup of beer. The two women most concerned in the proceedings were co-wives, an untravelled woman

aged about thirty, and a rather more sophisticated one of about twenty-four who has lived away from the tribe. Besides these, there was a pupil (another wife of the same husband) who helped the older woman in the early stages and in polishing and smoothing, while two of her young relatives pounded and kneaded the clay with water till it was of the required consistency.

#### *Technique.*

The older woman explained to me that her work was not really Bena pottery at all, but Swahili, *i.e.*, it had come from the coast. Bena pottery, she said, was very rough and unfinished, and no one would be content with such poor workmanship now. She had been taught her trade by a paternal aunt in whose youth pots of the old style were still in use and who had seen the coming of the new methods. The old pottery was something like Fig. III, 1, which is a half-made example of Fig. I, 3 or 5.<sup>1</sup> A lump of clay was roughly hollowed out, pieces were added to the sides if the lump proved too small, and in every case strips were put on to make a ring round the top for the rim, but there was no smoothing, decorating or polishing.

The Bena pottery of the present day, *i.e.*, what my informant called Swahili pottery, is also made from the lump. A piece of clay of approximately the right size is roughly shaped with the hands (Fig. III, 3, which might become either Fig. I, 1, 3, 4 or 5), and a fairly thick base is left for it to stand on. Strips are added to the upper edge as required and, as above, a ring is always put on which will eventually be the rim (Fig. III, 1, which would become Fig. I, 3 or 5, and Fig. III, 4, which would become Fig. I, 1 or 4).

As soon as the base is shaped, a suitable broad soft leaf is placed under the pot, which is set in a shallow depression in the ground or on a plaited mat—anywhere in fact where it will stand steadily and be easy to turn. The leaf is preferably that of the *msekése* tree (*Bauhinia Thonningii* Schum.), which is so common that there is almost certain to be one at hand. As the woman works, she rotates the pot itself.

When the upper part is shaped the pot is put out in the sun to harden a little before being decorated with lines and either polished with graphite inside (and possibly in patches outside, too), or else merely rubbed smooth with a plain round pebble without any graphite. The Bena name for pots in general is *viwia* (sing. *ki-*), but any pots whose interior is polished with graphite become a *kingyamkéli* (pl. *vi-*). After decoration it is left until hard enough for the base to be scraped away without catastrophe, when the bottom of the pot is carefully rounded and smoothed, the general balance being considered until it stands fairly evenly and is as thin as is consistent with safety. It then probably receives some more smoothing and polishing before finally being put out to dry in the sun.

Lids (Fig. II, 4) are made by similar methods, the lump first being shaped over an upturned pot of suitable dimensions, *i.e.*, wide and shallow. They start without either rim or knob, the rim being added as strips and the knob as a lump.

Small milk-bowls (Fig. I, 2) are made slightly differently. The bowl itself is made first and given a rough base as above, but the lump of clay is shaped over the woman's knee (leg flexed), and no strips are added. When the bowl is ready, the rough base having been scraped off and the bottom smoothly rounded, the proper base is added in the form of strips of clay made into a ring.

Fig. II, 1, 2 and 3, were made by the younger, more sophisticated woman, who has but recently returned to the tribe after spending four or five years in Kilosa and neighbouring places on the railway line. In passing, it may be noted that she came down to the fields after the other women had already been at work an hour or two, and being pregnant she silently dipped her hand in water and splashed a little over all the pots under construction, so that they should not crack in firing. Then she greeted everybody and joined in the work.

While she was away from her people she learned to make pottery, her teacher being a native of Tabora in the country of the Wanyamwezi, some hundreds of miles further up the railway line, and through her the following new ideas have just reached her people, two hundred miles away from the line.

She uses the coil method, joining neat strips, as in Fig. III, 2, and then putting in a lump for the

<sup>1</sup> The unfinished pots were not made full-size as the supply of clay in hand was limited.

bottom of the pot, which, like those described above, has a thick base to stand on while being made. After the pot is roughly shaped, she, too, adds a special ring to make the rim. Apart from this ring, which is quite definitely a *ring*, it would be inaccurate to put her work into either the ring or the spiral category of coil-made pottery. Sometimes, surely, these are far from being two clearly distinguished methods. In this case, for instance, the woman used either or both indiscriminately and fortuitously. I think she aimed at building up a series of rings, but it all depended on the relative lengths of the strip and the circumference of the pot. The strip, casually rolled to a length that seemed convenient, might make a complete ring, but as often as not it only went partly round the pot, when the next strip would overlap the beginning of the first and carry on as a spiral.

This woman's technique differs from that of other Bena women in another important particular. Whereas they turn the pot itself as they work, she stands hers on a shallow wicker tray and rotates the tray. In shaping the rim, she balances the tray on her left hand so that the top of the pot is level with her eyes, while with the other hand she gently pulls and pushes the rim into shape and makes it symmetrical. This method calls for far less handling of the still soft clay, but the tray has to be moved with caution, for on one occasion a too abrupt turn gave the pot a drunken list which was only eliminated after a good deal of manipulation.

The large milk-bowl (Fig. II. 3) was also made by this woman, and I think she used her coil method, but it was made after I had left the party as they had said work was over for the day. Like the small milk-bowl, the base was added after the bowl was made, but in this case I am told it was put on as a lump and not as a ring of clay.

The pipe was made from a lump of clay by a man who joined the party for a little while. He laughingly refused to make it at first and the women tried to do it, but then he became so impatient at their clumsy efforts to shape a thing they were not accustomed to making that he snatched it from them and made it himself.

#### *Firing.*

All the pottery made for me, whether Bena (Swahili) or Nyamwezi, was fired together. Given a bright sunny day, small pots may be fired in the evening of the day on which they are made, but beer-jars and other large vessels take longer to dry. The sun being intermittent, those illustrated were fired on the afternoon of the day following their manufacture. The potters' husband came down to watch, which they did not much like as they said the pots always cracked in firing if he came! Knowing them very well, I think it probable that they like him to keep away so that they can tell him tall stories of how hard they have to work, whereas pottery-making is really a pleasant sociable occasion.

First the pots are placed round the fire, not too close, and gradually dried till hard enough to stand fierce heat. Those with graphite polish inside are then filled with ashes to protect the polish, all are placed right in the fire and dry grass is piled high over them. It blazes up and then glows and smoulders till they are ready.

In the meantime, a liquid is prepared to be sprinkled over the pots when they come from the fire, to harden them. When I was present the women used the leaves of *mpululu* (*Terminalia sericea* Burch.) pounded in a mortar and then put into a bowl of water. As soon as the pots were lifted out of the fire, liquid from a handful of the pounded leaves was squeezed over them. It dried on them sizzling, making dark stains. The leaves of *mtarula* (*Acacia campylacantha* Hochst. ex A. Rich.) and the red gummy substance which oozes from the bark of *mwija* (*Bridelia micrantha* Baill.) may equally well be used. When the pots are cool enough to be handled, any cracks and other reparable injuries sustained in firing are carefully repaired with clay moistened in this liquid.

#### *Types and Uses of Pots.*

Fig. I. 3 and 5. are pots for cooking and serving rice, Bena name *kingamwima* (pl. vi-). The second of these is chiefly used by the lowland people proper, the Wandamba, as is Fig. I. 4. mentioned in the next paragraph.

Fig. I. 1 and 4. and Fig. II. 2, are bowls for cooking and serving meat, fish or vegetables, Bena name *kimbundi* (pl. vi-). These bowls are commonly set on top of those of the first type, like a double boiler, thus saving space at the fire, and inverted they often serve as lids for the rice pots.

Fig. II, 1, is a miniature beer-jar, made about one-third its full size, Bena name *kichiro* (pl. vi-).

Fig. I, 2, and Fig. II, 3, are bowls for liquids. Bena name *kitónka* (pl. vi-), which really means a milk-bowl, but in the country they now inhabit the Wabena have hardly any places suitable for cattle and few *vitónka* are ever filled with milk in these days.

A lid like Fig. II, 4, is a recent innovation inspired by the civilized lidded saucepan. There is no Bena name for it, and it is known by the Swahili word for *lid*. This particular example fits either Fig. I, 1, Fig. I, 3, or the saucepan (Fig. II, 6).

This last is also, of course, of recent introduction, copied from the metal saucepans now sold by the Indian traders and found side by side with the old clay pots in the more advanced households, especially where the husband travels a good deal, *e.g.*, officials of the tribal administration. It has no Bena name, being known by the Swahili word for *saucepan*. Some people who cannot afford metal saucepans like to have pots of this shape in clay, because they stand steadily and the lip facilitates



FIG. I. ORDINARY BENA POTTERY OF THE PRESENT DAY, MADE FROM THE LUMP.



FIG. II. RECENT INNOVATIONS: 1, 2, 3, POTS MADE BY COIL-METHOD: 4, 5, 6, COPIES OF THINGS USED BY NON-NATIVES.

removal from the fire, while lids usually fit them better than they do the older types. But this kind of pot has a serious defect in that its lip is very easily chipped and broken so that it does not travel well, for on a journey the cooking-pots must stand being tightly tied up in the heterogeneous bundles of food, clothes, chickens, sugar cane, old tins, bottles, and even tin boxes which make up their owners' baggage.

The pipe (Fig. II, 5) is a copy of those smoked by Europeans.

#### Implements.

The tools used by both the women are seen in Fig. IV, and consist of:—

(1) One-half of a bi-valve shell, whose back smooths the interior of the pot and whose edge serves for scraping away its original rough base.

(2) Grass stalks mounted in a lump of clay, for multiple line decoration.

(3) A smooth round pebble for polishing and smoothing the surface after the clay has partly dried, and for rubbing-in the ground graphite, which is bought in small lumps from a tribe in the neighbouring hills.

(4) A corncob, used chiefly for smoothing the exterior, but in the early stages for shaping the bowl from inside too, against the palm of the left hand.

(5) A "knife" of maize-stalk or anything similar, for levelling the rim and decorating, and, when drawn lengthwise along the rim, for bevelling.

(6) A piece of a gourd, for making decorative indentations.

The man who made the pipe used only his hands and a grass-stalk, which he embedded in the clay to keep the passage clear from mouthpiece to bowl and which was, of course, burnt away when the pipe was fired.

#### *Pottery-making as a trade.*

With the exception of pipes, all pottery is the work of women, but only a few of them learn the art. It apparently tends to be handed down in certain families, but this is by no means invariably the case, and anyone may learn as inclination and opportunity dictate. It is considered an honourable calling, in fact my teachers were the Chief's own wives. But it is only a side-line among a woman's numerous domestic and agricultural duties, a day or two being devoted to it as occasion

arises, whether in the shape of orders from other people or of the needs of the potter's own household. None of the women keeps or displays a stock of pots ready for sale, each simply makes them as and when required. I do not know what happened before the introduction of money, but now prices range from five to ten cents (a little over  $\frac{1}{2}d.$  to a little over  $1d.$ ) for small bowls, to fifty cents ( $6d.$ ) or even seventy cents (about  $8\frac{1}{2}d.$ ) for a beer-jar. The pottery illustrated above has been accepted by the British Museum.

G. M. CULWICK.



FIG. III. 1-5, STAGES IN MANUFACTURE: 5-10, IMPLEMENTS USED IN MAKING WABENA POTTERY.

## ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS.

**The Religious System of an Australian Tribe.** *Summary of a Communication presented by Mr. Ralph Piddington, 22nd October, 1935.*

The religious system of the Karadjeri tribe is important in connection with two groups of ceremonies: (a) Initiation ritual and (b) Totemic increase ceremonies. A description of these ceremonies leads us to an analysis of their relation to other aspects of culture. Firstly, they throw into high relief the various *social groupings*, particularly those of *age* and *sex*. The social relations between *local groups* are reflected in their reciprocal obligations in regard to the performance of increase ceremonies, and in the ritual exchange of sacred objects. Initiation ceremonies are closely related to the *political organization*. Religious ceremonies have an important *economic* aspect, being closely related to productive activities such as hunting and fishing; the collective labour involved in the provisioning of the more important ceremonies must also be considered. The rights and obligations of *kinship* are vividly expressed in the initiation ceremonies. Finally we must consider the rôle of religion in the *life of the individual*.

*Analysis of Karadjeri religious institutions:* We have already dealt with the *personnel* involved in religious ceremonies, and the relation of this to social grouping. The next thing to be considered is the *ideology and dogma* of religion. The ceremonies are validated by a complex system of traditional lore. This brings social customs into relation with the environment, thus organizing the relation

between man and nature, and at the same time providing a mythological charter for social institutions. In this connection we must consider the *linguistic* usages connected with sacred words. The *material objects* used in the ceremonies provide visible symbols of the spiritual forces upon which religion depends: the care taken in their manufacture, repair, and preservation is an important manifestation of the religious sentiments of the people. The *ritual performances* involved in religious ceremonies provide a paradigm of social conduct generally—thus initiation ceremonies are designed to impress certain patterns of behaviour upon various people, particularly the initiate. This brings us to the *sensual and æsthetic* effects of religious practices upon the individual. The satisfaction of appetites, the pleasures of friendly companionship, and the excitement of collective activity provide strong incentives for the performance of the ceremonies. To these we must add the æsthetic effects of singing and dancing, as well as the decorations of the performers and the ornamentation of material objects employed in the ceremonies.

We may now consider our material in relation to certain general problems of anthropological theory.

*Totemism*: Can we formulate a definition of totemism, or does the bewildering variety of 'totemic' phenomena preclude such a possibility? In the Karadjeri ceremonies, totemic phenomena are closely related to those of a non-totemic character: we can only define Karadjeri totemism in terms of the very much wider system which organizes the relation of man to nature. This gives us a clue to the more general problem.

*Religion and Magic*: The difficulty of drawing any distinction between religion and magic leads us to regard them as complementary aspects of a unitary group of phenomena, a view which harmonises with the more important theories.

*Religion and Culture*: Two rival conceptions of culture: (a) as depending upon traditional dictates, automatically obeyed and (b) as founded upon biological needs and self-interest operating through the principle of reciprocity. These two views may be synthetized in relation to Karadjeri religion.

RALPH PIDDINGTON.

## OBITUARY.

### Frank Charles Shrubsall.

**187** Dr. Shrubsall died at his home in Hampstead, London, on Wednesday, September 25th, 1935, at the age of 61. For thirty-seven years he was a Fellow of the Institute, during which time he rendered it great service as a member of Council and particularly as its Honorary Treasurer in the seven difficult years which succeeded the War. No one did more than he to make the scientific meetings at the Institute interesting and instructive. He had a most lovable personality, and under a modest demeanour hid a wide and accurate knowledge not only of Medicine, Anthropology and Psychology but also of human nature. His death leaves a void in the life of the Institute.

Dr. Shrubsall was educated at Cambridge University and at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London, at both of which he held scholarships. At Cambridge he prepared for a career in science, taking a first class in both parts of the Natural Science Tripos, graduating in 1895 at the age of twenty-one. After taking degrees and diplomas in Medicine, Surgery and Public Health he held clinical appointments first in St. Bartholomew's Hospital and afterwards in Brompton Hospital for Diseases of the Chest. It was during this time he made an elaborate statistical enquiry among the outpatients of these hospitals, the results of which were published under the title *Physical Characteristics and Morbid*

*Proclivities* (St. Bartholomew's Hospital Reports, 1903, Vol. 39, p. 63). These inquiries led Dr. Shrubsall to the conclusion that certain physical types are specially prone to certain ailments—blonds, for instance, being more liable than other types to rheumatoid arthritis, while darker types were more susceptible than the lighter to nervous diseases and tuberculosis.

This was perhaps the most arduous and prolonged of all Dr. Shrubsall's researches, but it was by no means his first. While still a student at Cambridge he became interested, through Professor A. Macalister, in craniology. In the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvii (1898), p. 263, appeared his first article. It dealt with *The Crania of African Bush Races*, based on specimens preserved in Cambridge, in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, London, and in the British Museum (Natural History). This paper is still a standard source of reference. In the *Journal* of the following year (Vol. xxviii, p. 55) he published a corresponding paper on *A-bantu Skulls and Crania*. Two years later he published a third paper on African skulls—*Crania from the Nile-Welle Watershed*. He was our authority on all relating to the craniology of African races.

It was not until 1909, when he was 35 years of age, that he entered a department of medicine which opened up for him a road to success. Under

Dr. James Kerr, the London County Council was then building up a medical service for its schools, and in Dr. Shrubbsall Dr. Kerr found the ideal colleague to work out standards of growth and of nutrition. In the service of the London County Council Dr. Shrubbsall remained, and at the time of his death was its Senior Medical Officer. As the service developed, all which concerned the well-being of mentally defective children became his special field of endeavour and observation. It is beyond the scope of this notice to catalogue the numerous papers he contributed to scientific societies and professional journals. He also held the post of lecturer to the Maudsley Hospital on Mental Deficiency. Those lectures form the basis of a standard work he published in 1932 with Dr. A. C. Williams, entitled *Mental Deficiency Practice*. Many of his papers on Mental Deficiency and Imbecility will be found in recent volumes of the *British Journal of Psychology* (Vols. 3, 6, 7). Suffice it to say that in all matters relating to the mental defects of children he was the chief authority in England. He was a member of the Departmental Committee which reported on these defects in 1929.

He was a man who lived and worked for the public advancement of all branches of knowledge relating to Anthropology and Psychology. For

eighteen years he acted as secretary to Section H (Anthropology) of the British Association. He served as president of this section when the Association met in Toronto in 1924. His address, *Health and Physique Throughout the Ages*, contains much matter of abiding value.

Mention has been made of his early service to the L.C.C. under Dr. James Kerr. This notice may be suitably closed by quoting a few sentences from an article which Dr. Kerr has contributed to the *British Medical Journal* (Oct. 5th, 1935, p. 647).

"His mind was always viewing future trends. Still, ever cautious, it took him a quarter of a century to accept the idea of the 'moral imbecile.' He saw no hope in sterilization. His instincts were scholarly, aristocratic and conservative. He was not a robust man and all his days was the victim of violently recurring asthma. Only an indomitable sense of duty made him carry on, often in the shadow of death. He had no praise great enough for the aid given by his former colleague, Dr. Jane Gilmour, who became his wife. She helped her husband through a score of useful years."

Fellows of the Institute will gladly take this opportunity to extend to his widow and to her daughter, now a student of medicine, their heart-felt sympathy.

ARTHUR KEITH.

## REVIEWS.

### AFRICA.

**Anthropology in Action. An Experiment in the Iringa District of the Iringa Province, Tanganyika Territory.** By G. Gordon Brown, M.A., Ph.D., and A. McD. Bruce Hutt, B.A. (Oxon.): Introduction by P. E. Mitchell, C.M.G., M.C. (Int. Inst. African Languages and Cultures). Oxford University Press, 1935. 8vo. pp. xviii, 268, map and 4 appendices. Price 7s.6d. net.

This monograph is stated to be "the outcome of an experiment made by the authors in an attempt to discover to what extent anthropological knowledge can be made applicable to the problems surrounding the administration of an African tribe." There is nothing novel about the application of anthropological knowledge to the problems of administration, particularly in those British protectorates and mandated areas of Africa where 'indirect rule' has become the mainspring of native policy. But the present book can claim to be novel in two respects. It is the first published account of a systematic attempt to indicate the various spheres in which anthropological knowledge can be applied to a particular tribe, and it is novel also in the method pursued, namely, the close collaboration by way of question and answer between the District Officer in charge of the tribe and a trained anthropologist who was already well acquainted with the people. Nor is the result a dry-as-dust 'report,' but an eminently readable account of an African people adjusting themselves to ever-changing conditions.

The experiment was carried out among the

Hehe of the Iringa District of Tanganyika at the instance of the then Secretary of Native Affairs (Mr. P. E. Mitchell) who, in the *Introduction* to the book, points out that district officers are so fully occupied with executive work that they seldom have the time for carrying out anthropological research. Incidentally, Mr. Mitchell gives an excellent working definition of indirect rule as "a policy of local government designed to provide the framework within which the administrative, social and economic progress of the people may be promoted from foundations resting on their past, compatible with their present and suited to their future." It is not a policy "of riveting outworn institutions on an ignorant people before they are able to outgrow them," nor yet "of inventing a system or imposing it from without as something which the British officers had decided would serve their purpose."

Chapter I is devoted to the nature and method of the experiment. The method finally adopted may be summarized by saying that the administrator was to ask the anthropologist questions concerning his practical problems as they arose, and that the anthropologist was to limit his answers by a consideration of the particular circumstances which gave rise to the questions. It is stated, however, that throughout the experiment the anthropologist tended to press for the inclusion of a larger body of knowledge than the administrator thought necessary. And herein would seem to lie a real defect in the method employed, namely, that an administrator, ignorant of anthropology,



may fail to ask many questions that ought to be asked. The authors seem to be aware of this defect themselves, when they say in the concluding chapter that they had "possibly erred by a too rigid adherence to the principle that information "is only to be supplied when the administrator "decides that it will be useful." Moreover, if the anthropologist, in his turn, has no experience of administration, he must frequently experience difficulty in understanding the full import of the administrator's questions, and in his field work fail to anticipate many of the questions which the administrator may subsequently ask. The conclusion would therefore seem to be that, if maximum success is to be obtained, the administrator should have some knowledge of anthropology, while the specialist anthropologist should have some experience of administration.

Chapters III and IV are a presentation of the results of the method pursued and are, in fact, an excellent summary of the culture of the tribe from the administrative point of view. The political and kinship organizations are described, together with the systems of law, land tenure, economics and religion. It is rather surprising to learn (p. 31) that "the chief in a sense regarded all cattle as "his to dispose of." It is stated (p. 61) that "the "headman is the owner of the land." But the headman would appear to be merely the allocator of unoccupied land, and the fact that he can refuse permission to a bad character to settle, and therefore to occupy land, implies nothing as regards ownership. In speaking of the headman's court, Dr. Brown points out that a Hehe judge is really more of an arbitrator than a judge; he is not a magistrate so much as a chairman who announces, not his own personal judgment, but that of the assembly. Another very true observation is that the local court serves a useful psychological function by allowing people to air their grievances in a way which would be impossible in the central courts of the sub-chiefs. But as this is so, these local courts should be definitely recognized; at present they appear to be illegal.

The account of the kinship organization is good but sketchy, and the reason for the sketchiness is ascribed to the fact that the administrator did not consider an extensive knowledge of kinship necessary. Actually kinship among the Hehe appears to be of less importance than among most African tribes. Nevertheless it is surprising that the family organization does not appear to be used for such an elementary purpose as tax-collection, and Dr. Brown seems to think that every tax-payer should pay his tax direct to the sub-chief instead of through the intermediary channels of authority (p. 70)—a form of procedure which is hardly consistent with the principles of Indirect Administration. The various problems relating to marriage are well presented. But perhaps it is a little misleading to say that "a man may divorce his wife without "reason; a woman must have good grounds for "doing so." For in most African tribes a man who would divorce his wife without reason would

have to face the opprobrium not merely of his wife's family, but also of his own. Mere arbitrariness on the husband's part is not so easy as might appear. Moreover, Dr. Brown states later that a wife can get a divorce by merely saying that she does not like her husband. And elopement marriages with married women appear to be common.

As regards land tenure there is an abundance of land in a tribe which has a density of only seven persons to the square mile. Land is not, therefore, saleable. Dr. Brown gives as one reason for the unsaleability of land the fact that ownership can only be transferred to the headman. But surely this is an effect rather than a cause of unsaleability; and in any case ownership does not appear to be always transferable to the headman as we are told that a man can transfer ownership to his wife and "once he has granted land to a wife it is hers "as long as the marriage continues." Nor is the example given to show how Hehe land laws may alter in the future very convincing. It is stated that in a dispute over land the chief assigned the plaintiff the sector in which he had planted some mango trees "and thus recognized the existence of a "permanent improvement." But there is no question here of the claim being recognized on account of "a permanent improvement." It is a common rule in Africa that a man who plants economic trees becomes their owner in the full sense of the term. But he does not become the owner of the land in their vicinity. In the case quoted, the plaintiff's claim to the temporary use of part of the land was recognized and he was naturally assigned that sector which contained his trees. In a year or two someone else may very well be found farming this sector, but the ownership of the trees will still remain with the man who planted them.

Chapter III deals with "The Changing Tribe." In this Dr. Brown points out that the culture of the Hehe has never been static. Change did not begin abruptly with the European conquest of the tribe. In the half-century preceding European occupation, for example, a strong centralized government was created and an international trade was developed through the medium of Arab and Swahili traders. Nevertheless the process of change has been immensely accelerated by more immediate contact with European culture and is progressively increasing. The principal changes are summarized under the heads of Administration, Taxation, European Law, New Religious Beliefs, Education, and European settlement. As regards administration the tribe remains loyal to its chief despite many petty abuses. But there is a fundamental defect in the absence of any adequate expression of public opinion on administrative affairs. Dr. Brown believes that the tribal institutions will, under the guidance of the British staff, evolve means of counteracting this defect. In this connection it may be remarked that in Nigeria one of the objects of the recent resuscitation of village councils (as among the Ibo) was that they should give expression to public opinion and also serve as a factor in maintaining social cohesion.

Sufficient has been said to show that both the authors are to be congratulated on an excellent piece of pioneer work. Their book may be regarded as a primer of applied anthropology, and should be studied by all interested in African affairs, and in particular by cadets of the African Administrative Services.

C. K. MEEK.

#### AFRICA : WEST.

**Die Völkerstämme im Norden von Liberia.** By Dr. Paul Germann. Leipzig: R. Voigtlanders Verlag, 1933. 141 pp., with map, 20 photo plates, and 13 plate-drawings. RM. 8.00.

189

The anthropologist who is interested in West Africa welcomes any suggestion of new materials collected from that area. This is especially true with reference to the tribes of the hinterland of the Republic of Liberia, where there is relatively little known of the peoples more than forty miles from the coast. To date there has not appeared a proper ethnological treatise on any tribe of the area, and a good monograph is badly needed. The political situation of the Republic is, to some extent at least, responsible for this gap in the available literature. Being an independent State, foreigners have been less interested in it and the field workers have found it easier to enter areas under colonial administration.

As early as 1670 a Dutchman, O. Dapper, makes reference to the tribes in that area now falling within the northern boundaries of the Republic, and in 1890, J. Büttikofer published a two-volume work, *Reisebilder aus Liberia*. One should not overlook the monumental work (2 vols.) of Sir Harry H. Johnston, *Liberia*, which appeared as late as 1906. None of these, however, are of more than cursory value to the serious anthropologist, since they cover the ground so lightly and do not support themselves with the proper documentation.

Several French writers (Bouet, Géstou, Delafosse Néel) have given us some valuable references to Liberia when describing the tribes in the French Guinea which have part of their population across the frontier, and Westermann gave us a fair account of the *Kpelle* in 1921.

One is immediately impressed by the excellent photographic plates, and very carefully prepared plate-drawings with which Dr. Germann has illustrated his book. They are numerous, and one could hardly wish for better. These are essential elements for a proper ethnological work, but they do not make a book.

Those who wish an up-to-date monograph on a Liberian tribe will be disappointed. The work seems to show evidences of having been compiled from notes and drawings taken to explain a museum collection rather than being a carefully documented work as the result of serious field investigation.

There is lack of unity as to the field of investigation, the tribes under consideration, and the editing of the materials. Though the author is dealing with several tribes, having many characteristics in common, their cultures seem too diversified to warrant their being covered so broadly. A much

more serious investigation would have been welcomed of one specific group, with comparisons to neighbours in the area. One is disappointed to find that the author has given a great mass of technical notes and information which are of value to the museum collector, but has overlooked the proper ethnological sense which is necessary in the appreciation of the culture of a people. Nowhere does he show the functional significance of any institution; he speaks of the social organization of the tribes under consideration in a most incomplete manner. It matters relatively little what the specified serial order of names of children is in any tribe, or the names given to the relatives of a family, unless one is furnished with information as to the relative position of all these individuals in the social organization—their functional relationship in society. One can hardly excuse his use (p. 72) of the unmeaningful term "sein Neffe" instead of such a term as *sister's son*, along with the native term. In these days of progress and high degree of accuracy in the science of anthropology, one would not expect to find such an incomplete piece of work following such a worthy title.

One is inclined to suspect that the author has had the works of his predecessors too close at hand at the time of writing—possibly closer than field notes. Although he makes reference in his introduction and bibliography to their existence, he fails to accord them proper place in the body of his work in the form of quotation marks or footnotes. In several places his words are virtual quotations from Westermann's *Die Kpelle*, with the slight change of a word or two—or the omission of a word from the original text. To quote two examples only, compare (p. 98), "Abgeleitet wird auch die in dem Gegenstand 'enthaltene Kraft' Sale genannt, doch denkt man sich eigentlich Gegenstand und Kraft als Einheit," with Westermann (p. 202), "Abgeleitet wird auch 'die in dem Gegenstand enthaltene Kraft' sale genannt, doch denkt man sich eigentlich Gegenstand und Kraft als Einheit." The too close similarity of this work with *Die Kpelle* may be especially noted when comparing Germann, pages 75, 82, and 85, with Westermann, pages 88, 58, and 61, respectively. The form of the book, including titles of chapters and paragraphs, is in many places identical with Westermann (*Cp. G.* 74-75 with W. 88-89), and when one puts Dr. Germann into ready and free English translation it is most difficult to detect any difference between paragraphs and chapters of Sibley and Westermann's *Liberia—Old and New*, another of his sources.

In some instances (p. 1) the author has dared to become the critic of his predecessors for their inaccuracies (*e.g.*, Johnston). Yet we find Walter Volz going from Sierra Leone into Northern Liberia in 1908 after he had met his death "am 2. April 1907" (p. 1).

Although the photographs and illustrations are extremely good and valuable, one must comment that Dr. Germann's numbering of them into three major categories, with Roman numerals for photo-plates (*e.g.*, Tafel VII), Arabic numerals for plate-

drawings (e.g., Tafel 7), and further Arabic numerals for illustrations appearing with the text (e.g., Abb. 7), is extremely confusing to the reader; they show evidence, also, of hasty editing, since several are incorrect. For example, on p. 21 he refers to *Taf. 7, Abb. 7*, which should evidently be *Taf. 3, Abb. 7*; p. 37, the reference to *Taf. 5, Abb. 6 and 7* should be *Taf. 6*. W. E. TABB.

**Die Bafia und die Kultur der Mittelkamerun-Bantu.** Von Dr. Phil. Gunter Tessmann. **190** *Ergebnisse der 1913 von Reichs-Kolonialamt ausgesandten völkerkundlichen Forschungsreise nach Kamerun. Bd. 1. Ergebnisse der Expedition zu den Bafia, 1914. Stuttgart: Strecker und Schröder, 1934. 10" x 7"; xii + 270 pp.; 39 plates, map.*

The results of the research expedition sent out to the Cameroons in 1913 have had to await publication for an inordinate time; owing, first to the war and, subsequently, to economic conditions which made such expenditure impossible. Dr. Tessmann was working in the Baya country (c. 15°-16° E. by 4°-5° N.) when compelled by the movements of troops to retreat westward. The Bafia, occupying a hitherto undisturbed area, seemed to offer a unique opportunity for study, and he lost no time in taking advantage of it. He fixed his headquarters at the former German post, at the southern end of the Don range—as beautiful and healthy a spot as he had found anywhere in Africa. He was only able, however, to remain there some six weeks, being compelled to leave for the coast on 21 December, 1914. During a stay at Fernando Poo (May-November, 1916), he secured the services of several Bafia natives, and with their help supplemented the information collected on the spot.

The Bafia are classed by this writer as 'Neubantu,' whom he finds identical in culture with the adjacent small group of 'Mittelkamerun' tribes: Ponék, Omand, Nyabeta, Yambasa and Banend. These are not linguistically akin to the Bafia, while the Balom, to the north-east, speak a language allied to Bafia, but are culturally distinct.

The genuine Bafia, who call themselves Begbak (there is a section of the tribe which, though passing under the same designation, cannot claim a common descent) appear, along with those above-mentioned, to be 'ein 'uralter Rassenteil,' immigrants from the north in prehistoric times. Their tribal legends make no reference to immigration from elsewhere; the first ancestors are said either to have fallen from the sky, or (like those of the Anyanja and some other peoples) to have come out of a hole in the ground, which points to the fact of their having occupied approximately their present abode from time immemorial. It would seem that they have been driven into this hilly region by pressure from other, more northerly, tribes. Taken together, the facts collected by Dr. Tessmann indicate that they are a remnant, cut off from the parent stem, crowded into the area to which he gives the name of 'Somohochland' (between the Wuri and the Mbam), and in some respects degenerate. At least, the condition of almost unregulated promiscuity, combined with unlimited homosexuality, cannot (if correctly described on pp. 224-236), so far as one is aware, be matched from any Bantu-speaking or, in fact, any African tribe, unless under very exceptional circumstances. (Cf. especially the systematic 'stealing' of women, as detailed on pp. 232 f.) It is significant that the absence of clothing (which, if a paradox can be permitted, presents some rather peculiar features) is not 'primitive' in the sense in which it might be predicated of, e.g., the Jaluo. They themselves say that they

formerly wore bark-cloth—how long ago, beyond the fact that it was 'very far back' (p. 84) is not stated. The present-day substitutes (apart from sporadic European borrowings described on p. 257) seem expressly calculated to call attention to what is usually concealed. Those used by men are depicted in Plates 8 and 9, the women's on Plates 10 and 11.

It is also noticeable that, while nowadays no survival after death is assumed ('der Mensch . . . hort als Person 'dann auf zu sein') there is evidence that reincarnation was once believed in (pp. 178, 179). The very rudimentary traces of ancestor-worship (rude figures set up outside the house, to which offerings of first-fruits are made) impress one rather as relics of a forgotten cult than as the beginnings of a more developed one. The figures (illustrated on Plate 25) seem like greatly degraded copies of a type exemplified by the *vigango* of the Giriama in the Kenya coast-lands. Whether such ritual as is still practised, could have originated among a people who believe that the dead survive, if at all, only as an element showing itself in lightning (p. 179), is a question. Were it not for these various points which, taken together, seem to indicate a certain retrogression. Dr. Tessmann might be held to have furnished a noteworthy argument in support of the apparently discredited hypothesis of a primitive promiscuity. His own standpoint is not quite easy to grasp. He claims for the Bafia a 'monistic' way of thinking which makes for an honest attitude towards life, as contrasted with the 'innerlich unwahren Charakter' involved in the 'dualistic' view of the Pangwe and other tribes. This 'monistic' view, he seems to say, is at bottom that of the 'Nordic' race ('der Untergrund unserer 'nordischen, dem Bafia verwandten Geistesanlage'): the bearing of this on sexual matters and on religious ideas is discussed in a final section (pp. 258-263), which requires careful study. The slight importance which the 'Mittelkamerunbantu' are here said to attach to difference of sex might perhaps be taken in connection with the legends current in some tribes, to the effect that this difference was unknown in the beginning, and possibly with the half-effaced tradition preserved in Genesis; but as to this, one would hesitate to offer an opinion.

I have been compelled to leave untouched several important sections of this book. It is to be followed by a similar study of the Baya, which, one hopes, will not be long delayed. A. W.

**Negerkünstler.** By Hans Himmelheber. Stuttgart, 1935. Pp. 80, with 33 plates and map.

**191** This small book, originally a thesis for the doctorate of Tübingen University, is a painstaking and scholarly record of fieldwork among the Aitutu and Guro tribes of the Ivory Coast. Dr. Himmelheber examines the culture of the tribes with whom he lived, and relates their arts and crafts to the religious and social activities, of which he gives illustrations in his plates. The material and technique of the wooden masks, figures and ornaments are carefully investigated and described; and Dr. Himmelheber was fortunate enough to secure some particularly fine masks characteristic of the stylized, highly-developed art of the Ivory Coast. Some of these (the present reviewer notices), presented to the Forschungsinstitut of Frankfurt, are now on loan to the big exhibition of Negro Art at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, the catalogue of which is just out. The book is a good example of the important results obtained by approaching aesthetic problems with an anthropological background, so successfully shown in the work of von Sydow and Vatter. Probably the present fashionable cult of negro

art is due more to the enthusiasm of painters and art critics than to scientific labours; but that does not lessen the need for solid foundations for æsthetic appreciation, and such foundations Dr. Himmelheber helps to build. AGNES DREW.

## AFRICA.

**Die Afrikanischen Trommeln und ihre ausser-afrikanischen Beziehungen.** By Heinz Wieschhoff. Stuttgart (Strecker und Schröder), 1933. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. viii + 148 pp., 68 figures and 35 maps. Rm. 9. **192**

As a musical instrument the drum is lacking in finesse, and its appeal to the emotions is due in part to the insistence of its rhythmic barrage, which has something of the quality of a natural phenomenon; but the factor of association perhaps plays a more important part in men's reaction to its beat. The author of the book under review is not, however, concerned with music or its significance, but with morphology and diffusion, though he also gives brief attention to the drum in relation to cult. On the technological side he enters into full details of the form and construction of the drums of Africa; and he discusses the similar types to be found in other parts of the world, with a view to tracing genetic relationships. The form of the body (bowl-shaped, cylindrical, conical, barrel-shaped, hour-glass-shaped, mortar-shaped, and ring-shaped), and the methods of attaching the membrane, are the features upon which he must chiefly rely, though other considerations are sometimes brought into his argument—such as the use of the drum by women.

or the filling of the body of the instrument with water.

As to the origin of the drum itself, the author agrees with those who associate it with the process of leather-making (*Lederwalkerei*). This seems likely enough, but, as in the case of most human origins, it is beyond the reach of proof. As early types of body he takes the bowl-shaped form (of earthenware or gourd), the cylinder-shaped, and the mortar-shaped. The drum with ring-shaped body (*Rahmentrommel*, or frame-drum) he regards as having perhaps had an independent origin as a cult-object, used for divining, and only later becoming a musical instrument. As regards the friction-drum, he views with favour Mr. Henry Balfour's theory of its origin from the bellows.

As an advocate of the 'Kulturkreise' theory, Dr. Wieschhoff devotes much of his attention to the association of various forms of drum with the African cultures whose characters have been scheduled by Frobenius and others. Thus, the bowl-shaped drum, of earthenware or gourd, often used by women, is assigned to the Hamitic culture; the cylinder form mainly to the Ethiopian; and a number of the other types to the Erythrean (North and South).

It is easier to accept, and be grateful for, the author's technological insight, than to follow him in his pursuit of origins and diffusion. So much depends on the assumptions made and the arguments selected. The absence of dogmatism is disarming, however, and one often feels that he makes a good case out of poor materials.

H. S. HARRISON.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

**The Riddle of the Sphinx.** (Cf. MAN, 1935, 151.)

SIR.—In his criticism of my views on human origins Lord Raglan observes that "if sexual experience conditions culture, culture certainly conditions sexual experience, so that at best we are confronted with the old problem of the owl and the egg." I am sorry to say that I have either failed to express myself clearly, or Lord Raglan has only read my book in a cursory manner; for on p. 170 I discuss the same vicious circle and on p. 210, 216, I indicate what I regard as the way out of the difficulty, viz., the biological fact of retardation. The next objection raised by Lord Raglan is connected with what he calls 'food anxiety.' He tells us that "Now although there will always be certain members of a community whose sex anxiety exceeds their food anxiety yet while it is often possible for all the members of a group to feel food anxiety, never possible for more than a fraction to feel sex anxiety, so that *a priori*, food anxiety is more likely to lead to communal activity in the shape of ritual than sex anxiety." Whereas, as a matter of fact, 'sex anxiety' in one form or another is absolutely universal for every human being. 'Food anxiety' is not, and where it is found is frequently due to a displacement from libidinal sources rather than conditioned by environment. An agricultural people like the Papuan Melanesians of Duau, who are not at all likely to starve have 'food anxiety' in a marked degree, while in Central Australia, where famine is a real danger, 'food anxiety' is absent. But the people of Duau suffer a weaning trauma while there is no such thing among the Aranda and the Pitcheutara. In Central Australia the 'intichiuma' rites connected with the food supply are merely offshoots of the totemic puberty ritual. Multiplication of the kangaroos, etc., is a secondary rationalization of what was originally a rite directed towards the fertilization of the human species. **193**

As for the objection that I ignore the possibility that savages are decadent I plead guilty. I do, until far better arguments are brought forward to support this view. The sentences quoted by Lord Raglan as startling statements of my own are mostly simple commonplaces of psychoanalytic clinical experience. When Lord Raglan talks about the 'besetting phantasies' of the psychoanalyst he is judging the views of a science in which he has no empirical knowledge whatsoever. If somebody wants 'besetting phantasies' he will find plenty of these in 'Jocasta's Crime' or in other books of the Elliot-Smith and Perry school. Another objection of Lord Raglan is that I never give the tribe, age or social condition of the informants from whom I got the dreams nor how the dreams were obtained. As regards the technique of my field work I have said what there was to say in 'Journal of the Psychoanalytical Institute, Vol. XIII. The tribe is absolutely immaterial. Nobody, excepting myself, knows anything about the Pindupi or Nambutji, so what could the reader profit by adding the tribal names? I might, of course, have mentioned the age of the dreamers. I knew the people in question well, and here I certainly forgot that my readers are not on terms of intimacy with Lelil-tukutu or Ramoramo. As for the question of 'social condition' in Central Australia: this reminds me vividly of a dialogue with a Hungarian 'anthropologist' who could not understand how the natives managed to exist in Central Australia without any sort of currency. There can be no question of 'social condition' in these tribes.

Budapest.

GÉZA RÓHEIM.

**Is the Savage a Scientist?** (Cf. MAN, 1935, 184.)

SIR.—Lord Raglan, in his paper presented to the British Association at Norwich (MAN, 1935, 184), first said that living races of savages had been developing in their own way for many thousands of years, and could **194**

not therefore be taken as examples to show how early primitive man lived or thought. He then went on to say that savages invented nothing, and therefore primitive man invented nothing. The logical sequence of these two statements is hard to follow.

Lord Raglan said that all inventions were the product of leisure and not of necessity. I asked him who, among early man, this leisured class of inventors might be, but he could not say.

He cited the bow as an instance of a complicated mechanism that could not have been produced by primitives. A worse selection could hardly have been made either to illustrate this theory or that of the non-existence of conditional invention. The bowmen, depicted in the Spanish rock shelters, who are the earliest we know, bear all the signs of a primitive people; if they, or some equally if not more primitive ancestors, did not invent the bow, who then were the cultured and leisured people who did this for them, and where are their remains? I asked Lord Raglan this, and suggested Atlantis as their homeland, but he did not jump at my suggestion as readily as I thought he might. As a conditioned invention I can cite the composite bow. This was conditioned by lack of suitable wood to make powerful bows, and also the necessity for a short bow to be fired from chariots or horseback without losing its hitting power. Here, as in many another instance, we see that necessity is the mother of invention.

An inquirer asked Lord Raglan, at Norwich, how he accounted for the Australian returning boomerang, and I asked him what he felt about the Marshall Island cane and shell maps which indicate the trend of ocean currents; he gave no satisfactory answer to either of our questions.

Lord Raglan further said that no one had ever seen a savage invent anything, therefore they had never invented anything. I can only suggest what appears to be one of his own stock answers, that he was not necessarily there, and therefore he does not necessarily know, which is somewhat less of a *non-sequitur*.

One can also suggest that at a time when smoking and matches were, so far as we know, not in existence, the rubbing together of two dry branches of a tree in a wind would have been as likely a source of forest fires as any other. Unless some such phenomenon was observed, it does not seem possible that this particular method of fire making could have evolved.

In conclusion I may say that while there had been scientific observation of savages for about thirty years, primitive man had possibly thirty thousand in which to achieve his inventions unobserved by any scientist.

D. H. GORDON.

#### The Domestication of Cattle.

**195** SIR,—It has been suggested that the domestication of cattle began with cows which would remain round the settlements of those who had tamed—or rather, perhaps, half-tamed—them, and would consort at the breeding season with the wild bulls which would come to them at this time from their more distant haunts. (See Peake and Fleure, *Peasants and Potters*, pp. 33-4).

This suggestion has recently gained support from the results of a sporting enterprise of the late Prince Kamal el Din Husein of Egypt, which was admirably described and illustrated by Lewa T. W. Russell Pasha, Commandant of Cairo City Police, in the *Illustrated London News* of 28 July, 1934. The prince, a great sportsman, had established a reserve, for ibex-shooting, of some 150 square miles of rough desert in the Wadi Rish-rash, to the east of the Nile Valley. Here he found, not far below the surface, a constant source of

water from which a motor-pump supplied his Albanian keepers for their personal wants and the irrigation of a small plot of land; the arrangements included the cutting of a small rock-pool in the wadi side.

The desert in these parts is usually visited by heavy rain-storms, of rare occurrence, but sufficient for the needs of ibex. For some years, however, these have failed and the only water readily available has been that in the pool; the result has been the formation in the reserve of a permanent population of female ibex and their young, the males appearing only in the rutting season, which begins in September and lasts about a month. The animals attained a remarkable degree of tameness, even the males, usually most shy and difficult of approach; they came to the keepers' whistle when barley was laid down for their feed.

This development is very natural; the females, needing comparative ease and protection during their gestation and the bringing up of their young, would readily adapt themselves to the new conditions, while the males, not feeling this need, make no long stay and only come, though sometimes from a distance of hundreds of miles, under the goad of their seasonal sex-activity—a long step has been made towards full domestication.

Other cases have occurred where wild animals in distress, especially cervids, have accepted food gladly from human sources, notably under arctic conditions, but this, perhaps, is the only one where the annual life-cycle of such animals has come under regular observation and the Lewa's account deserves a permanent record.

The priority in domestication of the female may perhaps account for the fact that backward peoples, Indian or African, living under the social bonds of a cattle-cult, rarely eat the animals' flesh, but consume only the milk, for this was the first gift of cattle to man and furnished the original motive of what is, in fact, a dairy-cult; the consumption of meat from domesticated herds may well have been a later development, not yet spread to the peoples in question. Here, too, we may recognize the reasons for the identification, in ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt, of the mother-goddess with the cow. (See *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, XIII, 245, and XV, 38.) G. D. HORNBLOWER.

#### Scarabs in Wiltshire. (cf. MAN, 1935, 131).

**196** SIR,—The discovery of two scarabs in Wiltshire during recent years, does not imply cultural relations in prehistoric times, even if the objects are genuine. During the World War, Australian troops were quartered on Salisbury Plain. Many of these spent a period of training in Egypt and collected momentos, which they either sent to their friends or retained in their possession. In this manner many would be brought to England where they might be lost or thrown away. During my own stay on the Plain I visited both Stonehenge and Collingbourne Wood and no doubt thousands of others did likewise. *Perth Museum, Western Australia.*

L. GLANERT.

#### Folklore: (Cf. MAN, 1935, 178.)

**197** SIR,—In his review of (MAN, 1935, 178), Dr. J. D. Frazer's article, 'The Cursing of Venzelos,' included in that book, may not there receive the greater permanence it deserves. As this may mislead some, it is well to say that the article has already been reprinted unabridged, with the author's notes, in *Folk-Lore*, XXVIII (1917), pp. 133-140, and also more recently in *Garnered Sheaves*, 1931, pp. 205-211.

H. COOTE LAKE.





**BARK CANOES, MOZAMBIQUE.**

*Photographed by James Hornell.*

# MAN

## A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

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### ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

**Africa : Technology.**

**With Plate M.**

**Hornell.**

**African Bark Canoes.** *By James Hornell.*

The note upon the occurrence of a bark canoe on the Pungwe River in the north-east of Southern Rhodesia, contributed by Rev. Denys Shropshire to the July number (*MAN*, 1935, 123), has reminded me that in December, 1926, I saw and photographed a related type of canoe lying on the sandy shore in the native quarter of the town of Mozambique. **198**

Although essentially a bark canoe it exhibited a great advance upon the Pungwe design. Instead of being made from a single and continuous length of bark stripped from one tree, sewn into shape without any internal framework, its construction was rather on the model of a sea-going Irish curragh, but differed therefrom by being sharp at both ends, in whale-boat fashion. The bottom was rounded and the sides had a distinct tumble-home form.

The framework consisted of a large number of closely set transverse frames made of bamboo poles bent into wide U-shape. These were held in position and stiffened by (a) two pairs of stout bamboo poles running longitudinally on the floor, each pair lashed on at about nine inches on either side of the median line, (b) another pair on each side, forming a rude but efficient gunwale, and (c) a single and lighter bamboo made fast to the ribs on each side, four to five inches below the gunwale pair. Five stout plank thwarts, each about nine inches wide, strengthened the framework transversely; their ends were inserted beneath and hidden by the gunwale bamboos to which they were lashed by stout cord passed through two holes made in each thwart end. A median hole in the midships thwart together with a short wooden bar on the floor below, showed that the canoe could be used under sail.

The bark skin was in long, thick sheets sewn together with palm-fibre cord (? coir yarn). Where the bark sheets met at each end they were sewn together at quite a considerable distance from the edges; by this means the sewing was the better protected from damage, the stout free edges forming the efficient equivalent of a fender. The sides were made up of several lengths of bark; the end of one piece overlapped its neighbour wherever there was need to join two together. The joint was then secured by sewing through holes made in the respective edges. Whether any caulking was used was not noted.

As may be seen from the photographs, the bark skin was sewn to the bamboo gunwales by double stitches at short intervals, with a single connecting cord running longitudinally on the outside. My notes are silent as to whether this single cord was in one with the stitches in the form of a series of half-stitches or whether it was independent and separate.

The canoe was about fourteen feet in length with an extreme beam of nearly four feet amidships and inclusive of the bulge caused by the tumble-home form of the sides. The fore end sheered up rather abruptly to end in a sharp point. The stern had scarcely any sheer.

The general design and construction show a marked advance upon the Pungwe canoe which has no framework other than pole thwarts and two crossed diagonals at gunwale level. The probability is that the framework of ribs and longitudinal 'timbers' of the Mozambique canoe are additions



to and modifications of the Pungwe type brought about by long continued contact with foreign influence at a port (Mozambique) which has been frequented by Asiatic and European seamen for many centuries. The basal design and its material must have, however, a common origin with the Pungwe canoe. If we grant this, the geographical range of the African bark canoe would seem to extend from South Rhodesia (Pungwe River) eastwards to the coast of Portuguese East Africa.

24th September, 1935.

JAMES HORNELL.

**Culture Contact and Schismogenesis.** *By Gregory Bateson, M.A., St. John's College, Cambridge.*

**199** The Memorandum written by a Committee of the Social Sciences Research Council (MAN, 1935, 162) has stimulated me to put forward a point of view which differs considerably from theirs; and, though the beginning of this article may appear to be critical of their Memorandum, I wish to make it clear from the outset that I regard as a real contribution any serious attempt to devise categories for the study of culture contact. Moreover, since there are several passages in the Memorandum (among them the Definition) which I do not perfectly understand, my criticisms are offered with some hesitation, and are directed not so much against the Committee as against certain errors prevalent among anthropologists.

(1) *The uses of such systems of categories.*—In general it is unwise to construct systems of this sort until the problems which they are designed to elucidate have been clearly formulated; and so far as I can see, the categories drawn up by the Committee have been constructed not in reference to any specifically defined problems, but to throw a general light on "the problem" of acculturation, while the problem itself remains vague.

(2) From this it follows that our immediate need is not so much the construction of a set of categories which will throw a light on all the problems, but rather the schematic formulation of the problems in such a way that they may be separately investigable.

(3) Although the Committee leave their problems undefined, we may from a careful reading of the categories gather roughly what questions they are asking of the material. It seems that the Committee have, as a matter of fact, been influenced by the sort of questions which administrators ask of anthropologists—"Is it a good thing to use force in culture contacts?" "How can we make a given people accept a certain sort of trait?" and so on. In response to this type of question we find in the definition of acculturation an emphasis upon difference in culture between the groups in contact and upon the resulting changes; and such dichotomies as that between "elements forced upon a people or received voluntarily by them"<sup>1</sup> may likewise be regarded as symptomatic of this thinking in terms of administrative problems. The same may be said of the categories V., A, B, and C, 'acceptance,' 'adaptation' and 'reaction.'

(4) We may agree that answers are badly needed to these questions of administration and, further, that a study of culture contacts is likely to give these answers. But it is almost certain that the scientific formulation of the problems of contact will not follow these lines. It is as if in the construction of categories for the study of criminology we started with a dichotomy of individuals into criminal and non-criminal—and, indeed, that curious science was hampered for a long while by this very attempt to define a 'criminal type.'

(5) The Memorandum is based upon a fallacy: that we can classify the traits of a culture under such headings as economic, religious, etc. We are asked, for example, to classify traits into three classes, presented respectively because of: (a) economic profit or political dominance; (b) desirability of bringing about conformity to values of donor group; and (c) ethical and religious considerations. This idea, that each trait has either a single function or at least some one function which overtops the rest, leads by extension to the idea that a culture can be subdivided into 'institutions' where the bundle of traits which make up one institution are alike in their major functions. The weakness of this method of sub-dividing a culture has been conclusively demonstrated by Malinowski and his pupils, who have shown that almost the *whole* of a culture may be seen variously as a mechanism for modifying and satisfying the sexual needs of the individuals, or for the enforcement of the norms of

<sup>1</sup> In any case it is clear that in a scientific study of processes and natural laws this invocation of free will can have no place.

behaviour, or for supplying the individuals with food.<sup>2</sup> From this exhaustive demonstration we must expect that any single trait of a culture will prove on examination to be not simply economic or religious or structural, but to partake of all these qualities according to the point of view from which we look at it. If this be true of a culture seen in synchronic section, then it must also apply to the diachronic processes of culture contact and change; and we must expect that for the offering, acceptance or refusal of every trait there are simultaneous causes of an economic, structural, sexual and religious nature.

(6) From this it follows that our categories 'religious,' 'economic,' etc., are not *real* subdivisions which are present in the cultures which we study, but are merely *abstractions* which we make for our own convenience when we set out to describe cultures in words. They are not phenomena present in culture, but are labels for various points of view which we adopt in our studies. In handling such abstractions we must be careful to avoid Whitehead's "fallacy of misplaced concreteness," a fallacy into which, for example, the Marxian historians fall when they maintain that economic 'phenomena' are 'primary.'

With this preamble, we may now consider an alternative scheme for the study of contact phenomena.

(7) *Scope of the inquiry.*—I suggest that we should consider under the head of 'culture contact' not only those cases in which the contact occurs between two communities with different cultures and results in profound disturbance of the culture of one or both groups; but also cases of contact within a single community. In these cases the contact is between differentiated groups of individuals, *e.g.*, between the sexes, between old and young, between aristocracy and plebs, between clans, etc., groups which live together in approximate equilibrium. I would even extend the idea of 'contact' so widely as to include those processes whereby a child is moulded and trained to fit the culture into which he was born,<sup>3</sup> but for the present we may confine ourselves to contacts between groups of individuals, with different cultural norms of behaviour in each group.

(8) If we consider the possible end of the drastic disturbances which follow contacts between profoundly different communities, we see that the changes must theoretically result in one or other of the following patterns:—

- (a) the complete fusion of the originally different groups,
- (b) the elimination of one or both groups,
- (c) the persistence of both groups in dynamic equilibrium within one major community.

(9) My purpose in extending the idea of contact to cover the conditions of differentiation inside a single culture is to use our knowledge of these quiescent states to throw light upon the factors which are at work in states of disequilibrium. It may be easy to obtain a knowledge of the factors from

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Malinowski, *Sexual Life and Crime and Custom*; A. I. Richards, *Hunger and Work*. This question of the subdivision of a culture into 'institutions' is not quite as simple as I have indicated; and, in spite of their own works, I believe that the London School still adheres to a theory that some such division is practicable. It is likely that confusion arises from the fact that certain native peoples—perhaps all, but in any case those of Western Europe—actually think that their culture is so subdivided. Various cultural phenomena also contribute something towards such a subdivision, *e.g.*, (a) the division of labour and differentiation of norms of behaviour between different groups of individuals in the same community, and (b) an emphasis, present in certain cultures, upon the subdivisions of place and time upon which behaviour is ordered. These phenomena lead to the possibility, in such cultures, of dubbing all behaviour which, for example, takes place in church between 11.30 and 12.30 on Sundays as 'religious.' But even in the study of such cultures the anthropologist must look with some suspicion upon his classification of traits into

institutions and must expect to find a great deal of overlapping between various institutions.

An analogous fallacy occurs in psychology, and consists in regarding behaviour as classifiable according to the impulses which inspire it, *e.g.*, into such categories as self-protective, assertive, sexual, acquisitive, etc. Here, too, confusion results from the fact that not only the psychologist, but also the individual studied, is prone to think in terms of these categories. The psychologists would do well to accept the probability that every bit of behaviour is—at least in a well integrated individual—simultaneously relevant to all these abstractions.

<sup>3</sup> The present scheme is oriented towards the study of social rather than psychological processes, but a closely analogous scheme might be constructed for the study of psychopathology. Here the idea of 'contact' would be studied, especially in the contexts of the moulding of the individual, and the processes of schismogenesis would be seen to play an important part not only in accentuating the maladjustments of the deviant, but also in assimilating the normal individual to his group.

their quiet working, but impossible to isolate them when they are violent. The laws of gravity cannot conveniently be studied by observation of houses collapsing in an earthquake.

(10) *Complete fusion*.—Since this is one of the possible ends of the process we must know what factors are present in a group of individuals with consistent homogeneous patterns of behaviour in all members of the group. An approach to such conditions may be found in any community which is in a state of approximate equilibrium but, unfortunately, our own communities in Europe are in a state of such flux that these conditions scarcely occur. Moreover, even in primitive communities the conditions are usually complicated by differentiation, so that we must be content with studies of such homogeneous groups as can be observed within the major differentiated communities.

Our first task will be to ascertain what sorts of unity obtain within such groups, or rather—bearing in mind that we are concerned with *aspects* and not classes of phenomena—what aspects of the unity of the body of traits we must describe in order to get a whole view of the situation. I submit that the material, to be fully understood, *must* be examined in, at least, the following five separable aspects:

(a) *A structural aspect of unity*.—The behaviour of any one individual in any one context is, in some sense, cognitively consistent with the behaviour of all the other individuals in all other contexts. Here we must be prepared to find that the inherent logic of one culture differs profoundly from that of others. From this point of view we shall see, for example, that when individual A gives a drink to individual B, that behaviour is consistent with other norms of behaviour obtaining within the group which contains A and B.

This aspect of the unity of the body of behaviour patterns may be re-stated in terms of a standardization of the cognitive aspects of the personalities of the individuals. We may say that the patterns of thought of the individuals are so standardized that their behaviour appears to them *logical*.

(b) *Affective aspects of unity*.—In studying the culture from this point of view, we are concerned to show the emotional setting of all the details of behaviour. We shall see the whole body of behaviour as a concerted mechanism oriented towards affective satisfaction and dissatisfaction of the individuals.

This aspect of a culture may also be described in terms of a standardization of affective aspects of the personalities of the individuals, which are so modified by their culture that their behaviour is to them emotionally consistent.

(c) *Economic unity*.—Here we shall see the whole body of behaviour as a mechanism oriented towards the production and distribution of material objects.

(d) *Chronological and spatial unity*.—Here we shall see the behaviour patterns as schematically ordered according to time and place. We shall see A as giving the drink to B 'because it is 'Saturday evening in the Blue Boar.'

(e) *Sociological unity*.—Here we shall see the behaviour of the individuals as oriented towards the integration and disintegration of the major unit, the Group as a whole. We shall see the giving of drinks as a factor which promotes the solidarity of the group.

(11) In addition to studying the behaviour of members of the homogeneous group from all these points of view, we must examine a number of such groups to discover the effects of standardization of these various points of view in the people we are studying. We have stated above that every bit of behaviour must be regarded as probably relevant to all these viewpoints, but the fact remains that some peoples are more inclined than others to see and phrase their own behaviour as 'logical' or 'for 'the good of the State.'

(12) With this knowledge of the conditions which obtain in homogeneous groups, we shall be in a position to examine the processes of fusion of two diverse groups into one. We may even be able to prescribe measures which will either promote or retard such fusion, and predict that a trait which fits the five aspects of unity can be added to a culture without other changes. If it does not fit, then we can search for appropriate modifications either of the culture or of the trait.

(13) *The elimination of one or both groups*.—This end result is perhaps scarcely worth studying, but we should at least examine any material that is available, to determine what sort of effects such hostile activity has upon the culture of the survivors. It is possible, for example, that the patterns of behaviour associated with elimination of other groups may be assimilated into their culture so that they are impelled to eliminate more and more.

(14) *Persistence of both groups in dynamic equilibrium.*—This is probably the most instructive of the possible end results of contact, since the factors active in the dynamic equilibrium are likely to be identical or analogous with those which, in disequilibrium, are active in cultural change. Our first task is to study the relationships obtaining between groups of individuals with differentiated behaviour patterns, and later to consider what light these relationships throw upon what are more usually called 'contacts.' Every anthropologist who has been in the field has had opportunity of studying such differentiated groups.

(15) The possibilities of differentiation of groups are by no means infinite, but fall clearly into two categories (a) cases in which the relationship is chiefly symmetrical, *e.g.*, in the differentiation of moieties, clans, villages and the nations of Europe: and (b) cases in which the relationship is *complementary*, *e.g.*, in the differentiation of social strata, classes, castes, age grades, and, in some cases, the cultural differentiation between the sexes.<sup>4</sup> Both these types of differentiation contain dynamic elements, such that when certain restraining factors are removed the differentiation or split between the groups increases progressively towards either breakdown or a new equilibrium.

(16) *Symmetrical differentiation.*—To this category may be referred all those cases in which the individuals in two groups A and B have the same aspirations and the same behaviour patterns, but are differentiated in the orientation of these patterns. Thus members of group A exhibit behaviour patterns A,B,C, in their dealings with each other, but adopt the patterns X,Y,Z, in their dealings with members of group B. Similarly, group B adopt the patterns A,B,C, among themselves, but exhibit X,Y,Z, in dealing with group A. Thus a position is set up in which the behaviour X,Y,Z, is the standard reply to X,Y,Z. This position contains elements which may lead to progressive differentiation or *schismogenesis* along the same lines. If, for example, the patterns X,Y,Z include boasting, we shall see that there is a likelihood, if boasting is the reply to boasting, that each group will drive the other into excessive emphasis of the pattern, a process which if not restrained can only lead to more and more extreme rivalry and ultimately to hostility and the breakdown of the whole system.

(17) *Complementary differentiation.*—To this category we may refer all those cases in which the behaviour and aspirations of the members of the two groups are fundamentally different. Thus members of group A treat each other with patterns L,M,N, and exhibit the patterns O,P,Q, in dealings with group B. In reply to O,P,Q, the members of group B exhibit the patterns U,V,W, but among themselves they adopt patterns R,S,T. Thus it comes about that O,P,Q is the reply to U,V,W, and *vice versa*. This differentiation may become progressive. If, for example, the series, O,P,Q includes patterns culturally regarded as assertive, while U,V,W includes cultural submissiveness, it is likely that submissiveness will promote further assertiveness which in turn will promote further submissiveness. This *schismogenesis*, unless it is restrained, leads to a progressive unilateral distortion of the personalities of the members of both groups, which results in mutual hostility between them and must end in the breakdown of the system.

(18) *Reciprocity.*—Though relationships between groups can broadly be classified into two categories, symmetrical and complementary, this subdivision is to some extent blurred by another type of differentiation which we may describe as *reciprocal*. In this type the behaviour patterns X and Y are adopted by members of each group in their dealings with the other group, but instead of the symmetrical system whereby X is the reply to X and Y is the reply to Y, we find here that X is the reply to Y. Thus in every single instance the behaviour is asymmetrical, but symmetry is regained over a large number of instances since sometimes group A exhibit X to which group B reply with Y, and sometimes group A exhibit Y and group B reply with X. Cases, in which group A sometimes sell sago to group B and the latter sometimes sell the same commodity to A, may be regarded

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Margaret Mead, *Sex and Temperament*, 1935. Of the communities described in this book, the Arapesh and the Mundugumor have a preponderantly symmetrical relationship between the sexes, while the Tchambuli have a complementary relationship. Among the Iatmul, a tribe in the same area, which I have studied, the rela-

tionship between the sexes is complementary, but on rather different lines from that of the Chambuli. I hope shortly to publish a book on the Iatmul with sketches of their culture from the points of view (a), (b) and (c) outlined in paragraph 10.

as reciprocal; but if group A habitually sell sago to B while the latter habitually sell fish to A, we must, I think, regard the pattern as complementary. The reciprocal pattern, it may be noted, is compensated and balanced within itself and therefore does not tend towards schismogenesis.

(19) *Points for investigation.*—(a) We need a proper survey of the types of behaviour which can lead to schismogeneses of the symmetrical type. At present it is only possible to point to boasting and commercial rivalry, but no doubt there are many other patterns which will be found to be accompanied by the same type of effect.

(b) We need a survey of the types of behaviour which are mutually complementary and lead to schismogeneses of the second type. Here we can at present only cite assertiveness *versus* submissiveness, exhibitionism *versus* admiration, fostering *versus* expressions of feebleness and, in addition, the various possible combinations of these pairs.

(c) We need verification of the general law assumed above, that when two groups exhibit complementary behaviour to each other, the internal behaviour between members of group A must necessarily differ from the internal behaviour between members of group B.

(d) We need a systematic examination of schismogeneses of both types from the various points of view outlined in paragraph 10. At present I have only looked at the matter from the ethological and structural points of view (para. 10, aspects (a) and (b)). In addition to this, the Marxian historians have given us a picture of the economic aspect of complementary schismogenesis in Western Europe. It is likely, however, that they themselves have been influenced unduly by the schismogenesis which they studied and have been thereby prompted into exaggeration.

(e) We need to know something about the occurrence of reciprocal behaviour in relationships which are preponderantly either symmetrical or complementary.

(20) *Restraining factors.*—But, more important than any of the problems in the previous paragraph, we need a study of the factors which restrain both types of schismogenesis. At the present moment, the nations of Europe are far advanced in symmetrical schismogenesis and are ready to fly at each other's throats; while within each nation are to be observed growing hostilities between the various social strata, symptoms of complementary schismogenesis. Equally, in the countries ruled by new dictatorships we may observe early stages of complementary schismogenesis, the behaviour of his associates pushing the dictator into ever greater pride and assertiveness.

The purpose of the present article is to suggest problems and lines of investigation rather than to state the answers, but, tentatively, suggestions may be offered as to the factors controlling schismogenesis:

(a) It is possible that, actually, no healthy equilibrated relationship between groups is either purely symmetrical or purely complementary, but that every such relationship contains elements of the other type. It is true that it is easy to classify relationships into one or the other category according to their predominant emphases, but it is possible that a very small admixture of complementary behaviour in a symmetrical relationship, or a very small admixture of symmetrical behaviour in a complementary relationship, may go a long way towards stabilizing the position. Examples of this type of stabilization are perhaps common. The squire is in a predominantly complementary and not always comfortable relationship with his villagers, but if he participate in village cricket (a symmetrical rivalry) but once a year, this may have a curiously disproportionate effect upon his relationship with them.

(b) It is certain that, as in the case quoted above in which group A sell sago to B while the latter sell fish to A, complementary patterns may sometimes have a real stabilizing effect by promoting a mutual dependance between the groups.

(c) It is possible that the presence of a number of truly reciprocal elements in a relationship may tend to stabilize it, preventing the schismogenesis which otherwise might result either from symmetrical or complementary elements. But this would seem to be at best a very weak defence: on the one hand, if we consider the effects of symmetrical schismogenesis upon the reciprocal behaviour patterns we see that the latter tend to be less and less exhibited. Thus, as the individuals composing the nations of Europe become more and more involved in their symmetrical international rivalries, they gradually leave off behaving in a reciprocal manner, deliberately reducing to a minimum their

former reciprocal commercial behaviour.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, if we consider the effects of complementary schismogenesis upon the reciprocal behaviour patterns, we see that one-half of the reciprocal pattern is liable to lapse. Where formerly both groups exhibited both X and Y, a system gradually evolves in which one of the groups exhibits only X, while the other exhibits only Y. In fact, behaviour which was formerly reciprocal is reduced to a typical complementary pattern and is likely after that to contribute to the complementary schismogenesis.

(d) It is certain that either type of schismogenesis between two groups can be checked by factors which unite the two groups either in loyalty or opposition to some outside element. Such an outside element may be either a symbolic individual, an enemy people or some quite impersonal circumstance—the lion will lie down with the lamb if only it rain hard enough. But it must be noted that where the outside element is a person or group of persons, the relationship of the combined groups A and B to the outside group will always be itself a potentially schismogenic relationship of one or the other type. Examination of multiple systems of this kind is badly needed and especially we need to know more about the systems (*e.g.*, military hierarchies) in which the distortion of personality is modified in the middle groups of the hierarchy by permitting the individuals to exhibit respect and submission in dealings with higher groups while they exhibit assertiveness and pride in dealing with the lower.

(e) In the case of the European situation, there is one other possibility—a special case of control by diversion of attention to outside circumstances. It is possible that those responsible for the policy of classes and nations might become conscious of the processes with which they are playing and co-operate in an attempt to solve the difficulties. This, however, is not very likely to occur since anthropology and social psychology lack the prestige necessary to advise; and, without such advice, governments will continue to react to each other's reactions rather than pay attention to circumstances.

(21) In conclusion, we may turn to the problems of the administrator faced with a black-white culture contact. His first task is to decide which of the end results outlined in paragraph 8 is desirable and possible of attainment. This decision he must make without hypocrisy. If he chooses fusion, then he must endeavour to contrive every step so as to promote the conditions of consistency which are outlined (as problems for investigation) in paragraph 10. If he chooses that both groups shall persist in some form of dynamic equilibrium, then he must contrive to establish a system in which the possibilities of schismogenesis are properly compensated or balanced against each other. But at every step in the scheme which I have outlined there are problems which must be studied by trained students and which when solved will contribute, not only to applied sociology, but to the very basis of our understanding of human beings in society.

GREGORY BATESON.

**The Diffusion of the Horse to the Flatheads.** *By Harry Turney-High, M.A., Ph.D., State University of Montana.*

*Introductory Note.*—For the benefit of those workers whose fields of consistent endeavour are distant from North-west United States, the following note of review is offered. The Flatheads are a people of western Montana, speaking a language within the Salishan family, and are of Plateau type culture. 200

The people themselves vigorously object to the term Flathead in reference to themselves, although many other Indians so call them, particularly those to the east. They call themselves *the Salish* (se-lic). Most of the tribes to the west speaking member languages of the Salishan stock, even as far as the Pacific Ocean, also refer to the Flatheads by some variant of this word.

For many centuries their principal home has been in the Bitter Root Valley of western Montana. At some time long ago they seem to have migrated from another locale. Teit has published material indicating that their original home was east on the Great Plains.<sup>1</sup> The great majority of my informants,

<sup>5</sup> In this, as in the other examples given, no attempt is made to consider the schismogenesis from all the points of view outlined in paragraph 10. Thus, inasmuch as the economic aspect of the matter is not here being considered, the effects of the slump upon the schismogenesis are ignored. A complete study would be subdivided into separate sections, each treating one of the aspects of the phenomena.

<sup>1</sup> Teit, James A., 'Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus,' 45th Annual Rept., Bureau of American Ethnology, 1927-1928. Perhaps it is impossible to solve this question. All that I can say for my own position is that I have lived with the Flatheads for nine years in contrast with Mr. Teit's extremely short visit, and that I have used many informants in comparison with Mr. Teit's almost complete reliance on the late Michel Revais.

both Flathead and allied Salishan peoples, notably the Pend d'Oreilles (stlqtkómchi), with whom they have been friends for many centuries, allege that the old home was south and west of here near the shore of the Pacific.

The following is not offered as one more tribal tradition. The writer has felt for years that the process of culture diffusion has been more often taken for granted than reported, and presents this to the reader as a small antidote. This is an instance of the diffusion of a great complex, the influence of which has been admirably reported elsewhere. Though the story has been told me by many informants, I am selecting that account of one old warrior who has notched many war honours on his *coups-stick*. Since the old Flathead's story seemed vigorous, the following is almost a literal translation.

*The Flatheads Steal the Snakes' Horses.*—A long, long time ago (est: mid-eighteenth cent.) the Salish had no idea of a horse. This was before Lewis and Clark came here. Then it happened that two lodges of Salish were camped way to the south. Although we did not fight the Shoshonean Snakes all the time, upon that occasion a party of Shoshone surprised these lodges and wiped them out, then returned to their own camp. Very soon after this the main band of the Salish came upon the remains of their massacred kin, and swore revenge. A small party undertook the expiation of Salish blood, and stole stealthily to the south, scouting the trail of the murderers.

Apparently the Shoshone had not expected a return visit, for the camp was poorly guarded. Seeing how easy revenge would be, one warrior said, "Now let us rush this small camp and wipe out two Snake lodges for what they did to our people." But the chief (ilimígum) saw something which amazed him. There was a herd of animals near the Snake camp the like of which he had never seen before. What was the strangest of all was that these animals seemed content where they were, in association with people, and were not trying to run away. They would even let people come up to them without trying to run away and save themselves. In view of these strange sights, the chief refused to rush the Snake camp, and said to his brothers-in-arms, "No, boys, let us wait here and see what this means."

So the Salish hid and spied on the Shoshone camp with its strange animals for three days. The Shoshone warriors came and went without discovering them. But what surprised them most was that the Snake warriors got on top of the animals and were ridden around by them.

So towards the end of the third day, the leader of the Salish party said to his men, "Now let us rush the Snake camp and drive away all those animals and take them home, for we see that the Snakes prize them." And they did that; they drove all of them away. There were only a few Snake men around and the Salish shot them with arrows.

The Salish drove the horses northward, and soon found the main band. The people were very much surprised at all their war party told them, and admired the horses very much. All of this band then broke camp and started northward to the Salish country in the Bitter Root Valley. But there was one thing they did not know, because they had no experience with horses. The Snakes did not keep all their horses in one herd. They always hid some of them so that a war party could not drive all of them away.

When the Shoshone warriors came back and found their horses stolen, they formed a large war party and pursued the Salish. It did not take them long to catch up, for they knew how to ride horses and the Salish did not. Our people had to walk on foot and drive the horses. Since this was in open country to the south, the scouts saw the Snake party coming a long way off, and gave warning. The Salish prepared to receive the Snake attack, which scared the Shoshone. The Shoshone are not as good fighters as the Salish. That is why we call them Snakes, and make snake sings when we speak of them. They had more warriors than we did, no women along, and they were on horses, but they did not attack.

The Snakes rode up and made peace signs, showing that they wanted to parley. They came up and got off their horses, and they begged, and begged, and begged. They begged the Salish to give them back their horses. But the Salish head chief said, "No, we will not give them back. You wiped out two of our lodges, and we will keep these horses instead of wiping out two of your lodges. We will pity people who eat bugs and live in holes." And that is what they did, and even though they begged and begged, the Shoshone had to go back to their camp without their horses.

For quite a while the Salish were afraid of horses. As they were driving them back to the Bitter Root, they formed a large circle around them, and were afraid when the horses came too close to them. One of the young men who had been on the revenge party was brave, however, and caught one of the horses. Everyone stood around to see what happened, but the young man rode the horse as long as it walked. Then he thought he would make the horse trot, as he had seen the Shoshone warriors do. But when the horse trotted, this young man became dizzy, even when it was only trotting, and fell off.

The Salish learned to ride horses and to prize them, as everyone knows. We are fine horsemen even to-day. These warriors who captured our first horses notched their *coups*-sticks, and were always given very great honour.

HARRY TURNEY-HIGH.

### Papua : Archæology.

Miles.

**A Stone Pestle and Mortar from the Upper Ramu River.** *By G. P. L. Miles, B.Sc.*

A stone pestle and mortar (Fig. 1) were found in close proximity in the working of a gold mine on the Infuntera Creek, Upper Ramu River, in 1933, and have recently been acquired by the Cranmore Ethnographical Museum. 201

The mortar is of granite, much kaolinized, and weighs 21 lbs. The periphery is formed of ten bosses of unequal size giving a maximum diameter of 12 in. (30.48 cms.), whilst the internal diameter is 5 in. (12.7 cms.) at the rim, and the height 6½ in. (13.9 cms.).

The pestle is of phyllite, 9½ in. (24.13 cms.) in length, circular in section, and has the handle end marked with shallow grooves. It was found under a terrace on the same creek and in close association to the mortar to which it may presumably have belonged.

A somewhat similar mortar from New Guinea is described by Sherwin and Haddon in *MAN*, 1933, 166, and here is given a number of references bearing on such mortars in general. Neuhauss (*Deutsch-Neu-Guinea* I, Berlin, 1911,

p. 136) records fifteen of these mortars, but in none of them is the arrangement of bosses so fully developed.



FIG. 1. STONE PESTLE AND MORTAR: NEW GUINEA.

G. P. L. MILES.

## ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE : PROCEEDINGS.

**Stone Age Peoples of the Mount Hagen Area Mandated Territory of New Guinea.**<sup>1</sup> *Summary of a communication presented by Michael J. Leahy, 5 November, 1935.*

This film illustrated a number of aspects of the primitive tribes recently discovered in the interior of New Guinea. These tribes, four in number, consisted of the Bena Bena cane-swallowing peoples in the area drained by the Karmurmentina river, the Chimbu on the headwaters of the Purari, and the middle Whagi people whose culture is characterized by large trident spears. 202

The film was supplemented by a series of lantern slides.

The subjects illustrated and described included scenery, villages, houses, fences and gardens, methods of trenching the ground with long spades, long houses used only as 'guest-houses' at ceremonies. Some of these houses are 100 yards long, and divided into twelve separate compartments, styles of personal ornament, hair-dressing, ring dances, high-jumping dances, nose-rubbing ceremonies (men and women in pairs), tribe bringing in offerings of sugar cane, etc., displaying wealth of shells, an orator haranguing the crowd, crossing suspension bridge built of vine, young men passing cane loops down into the stomach 'to make them strong,' methods of throwing spears, carrying shields and shooting with bow and arrow, women making net bags, men grinding and hafting stone

<sup>1</sup> A brief description of these tribes, by E. W. P. Chinnery, was published in *MAN*, 1934, 140.



battle-axes, men splitting logs with stone axes and wedges. An isolated stone *menhir* was shown, about the origin of which the present natives have no knowledge, though the stone must have been brought from a distance. In answer to a question about the source of their great wealth of marine shells, the lecturer stated that prior to his entry into the region shells were very scarce and highly valued, but they are now being introduced by the white man in large quantities as currency for the purchase of food and other objects. The word 'tambu,' applied to *Nassa*-shells, was also introduced.

**The Iron Workers of the Kwangwa Tribe.** *Summary of a communication presented by Mlle Marthe Kuntz, 19 November, 1935.*

**203** The iron work is considered sacred. It is taboo for women, children and any outsider to approach the secluded spots where this work is being done.

The iron ore is alluvial and found on the plains. At the end of the dry season—October and September—when the waters are low, the men dig pits near the lakes and swamps. These pits are called 'nando' and are narrow, but deep enough to get to the iron ore, which is called 'macwe a butali,' iron stones. The workers enter these pits, which often are still half filled with water, with baskets woven of palm-leaves; with hands and feet they free the 'iron stones' buried in the soil, fill their baskets and empty them on the dry ground round the pit. They call this operation 'ombola butali.'

The iron ore is then carried to a special spot in the forest to be melted. This work is done at night, from eventide until shortly after sunrise. The workers dig a trench from East to West, fill it with the mineral and with charcoal of which they have prepared a store at that special spot. They then light the charcoal, starting at the Eastern end of the trench, and crouching down, facing West, holding in each hand a bellow made of otterskin (though since the white people made a remunerative market for this, it is now often replaced by buckskin), they work these bellows; the conduct of the bellow fits into the mouth of a rough earthenware funnel, which amplifies the wind and keeps the charcoal burning bright. The iron worker chants an intermittent incantation, cut by well-timed intervals, during which only the breath of the bellows is heard; he calls this 'answering the voice of the otter.' He punctuates his chant by rythmical swaying of the head and the bust.

## PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

### Frederick Webb Hodge Anniversary Publication Fund.

**204** In December of 1886, Dr. Frederick Webb Hodge joined the Hemenway South-western Archæological Expedition to Arizona, and began a career in anthropology which will reach its fiftieth anniversary in 1936. The occasion is to be marked by the creation of the Frederick Webb Hodge Anniversary Publication Fund, under the guidance of the following Sponsoring Committee: H. B. Alexander, Franz Boas, Herbert E. Bolton, Fay-Cooper Cole, Carl E. Guthe, E. L. Hewett, Ales Hrdlička, A. V. Kidder, Jesse L. Nusbaum, Bruno Oettinger, Elsie Clews Parsons, Edward Sapir, Frank G. Speck, A. M. Tozzer, Henry R. Wagner, Clark Wissler. This Committee will appoint an editorial board, self-perpetuating, to select works in the field of American anthropology for publication by the Fund. South-west Museum (Los Angeles), of which Dr. Hodge has been Director since 1932, will administer the Fund as an endowment trust.

All publications will be sold at approximate cost, the income of the Fund being used as a reserve to

meet the heavy initial cost of printing and to cover possible deficits. Contributors to the Fund who so desire will receive a *pro rata* credit on its publications. Contributions should be sent to Hodge Fund, South-west Museum, Los Angeles, California.

Dr. Hodge is one of the pioneers of American anthropology. A founder of the American Anthropological Association, he edited its journal, the *American Anthropologist*, during its first fifteen years, meeting much of the initial expense from his own pocket. The *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, always the standard work of reference on this subject, is but one among many of his editorial and original contributions to the study of aboriginal America. Dr. Hodge was head of the Bureau of American Ethnology for eight years. His long career has been one of constant support and encouragement to the study of American prehistory. The Fund which is to bear his name offers to his many friends and admirers an opportunity to do him personal honour, at the same time increasing the meagre facilities for publication of research in the important field of American pre-history.

## REVIEWS.

## ARCHÆOLOGY.

**Malta, Origini della Civiltà Mediterranea.**  
By Luigi M. Ugolini. Rome (*Libreria dello Stato*), 1934. 4to, pp. xvi, 318. With **205**  
*xii plates, and many text illustrations.*

Every archaeologist must welcome the promise of a complete and detailed publication of the antiquities of Malta in five volumes by our author, and the Italian government is to be congratulated on the disinterested love of learning which has prompted the undertaking of this *Malta antica*. We hope that all the volumes will have the beautiful binding and fine form of the present one, which, however, does not form part of the series. Dr. Ugolini is an expert photographer and the lavish illustrations do justice to the prehistoric buildings of Malta. The general view of the ornate temple at Hal Tarxien (Figs. 13, 60) are especially to be commended; and it is now easier to visualize Mnajdra and Hagiar Kim. In the photographs of Neolithic statues, reproduced from *Daedalus*, we can admire their technical excellence, if we cannot all have Dr. Ugolini's enthusiasm for their artistic merit. We hope that an account of the buildings will include details of pottery found in them, with the find-spots. After Sir T. Zammit's discoveries at Hal Tarxien, all other Maltese pottery must be reclassified.

The substitution of a bibliographical index for footnotes reassures the general reader, while the index of illustrations and for matter aid the scholar. The introduction and the first two sections summarize the civilization of Malta, the third deals with neighbouring civilizations, the fourth formulates the place of Malta in the history of civilization, and allows the author's wit to play on the theories of Schuchhardt, Childe, Frankfort and others before he develops his own.

For Dr. Ugolini, the focus of culture in Palæolithic times lay in France and Spain. It moved to Malta in the Stone Age and passed thence to Crete, the forerunner of Greece and also of Rome. Dr. Ugolini is convinced of the pre-eminence of the Maltese Stone Age in Europe. Later volumes, we hope, will make its links with later periods no less clear. A preliminary survey could not explain in detail how (as is contended) Zammit mistook a copper-age temple for neolithic dwellings, or how Dr. Ugolini was able to rectify such a stratigraphical mistake. Certain theorists will also demand details of the evidence which proves (a) that the bones at Hal Tarxien were cremated, (b) that the long heads at Hal Saflieni belonged to the Bronze Age. Otherwise they will continue to think that some of the megalithic builders passed West from Malta and then turned North, or even became Nordic.

We miss the names of Hall and Blegen from the Bibliography of the Aegean, and other works of Prof. Wace might have been included. The slip by which Late Mycenaean idols (Fig. 106) are called "cuprolithic," p. 99, is unfortunate, for detailed knowledge of Aegean cultures in the Early Bronze age is indispensable. They have many contacts

with Hal Tarxien II, too many to be accidental. Dr. Ugolini mentions the flat axes (we prefer to call them chisels) and triangular daggers of metal, the bone objects and the owl vases, double and askoid vases (p. 222) which connect Hal Tarxien II with Troy II; but very strangely he does not go on to look for the weapons in other early Aegean cultures, particularly for daggers in the Cyclades and in Crete, and for chisels in all of them. Zammit saw contacts between Early Cycladic and Hal Tarxien II in a *kernos*, duck vases, and clay discoid figures; he might have added the multiple vases; and in his *Prehistoric Malta*, Plate XX, we note tankards of the type found at Olympia.

Dr. Ugolini considers that Thessaly and Butmir are 'backward,' but it is worth noticing that Thessalian so-called 'Neolithic' pottery has been found stratified, in Thessaly at Lianokladi, and outside Thessaly at several sites in Macedonia, and also at Gonia, near Corinth, under the pottery which we wish to equate with Hal Tarxien II. At Astakos in Acarnania a fine architectonic pellet-ware uses the Hal Tarxien encrusted colours on a Hal Tarxien shape. We wonder if further search would not reveal some contacts with Hal Tarxien I and these earliest Aegean potteries at least as striking as those which connect it with Crete.

Copper came late to the Aegean. In a discussion of the origin of copper in Europe it is strange to hear no mention of Ur.

Dr. Ugolini considers that the Maltese Stone Age is the Original Stone Age and dates it from 8000-3400 B.C. These dates may require modification before we can accept the restored plan (Fig. 84) as a 'proto-megaron.' In any case the derivation is not easy, and we do not feel sure that Fig. 83 may not represent a bed or a gameboard.

No doubt Dr. Ugolini does not expect his 'touchstone' of Mediterranean civilization to be immediately and unquestioningly accepted, but he has given archaeologists occasion for reconsidering the direction taken by the 'painted ware' cultures. We hope that he will be able to establish the connection between Malta and Crete, for his theory is one of the most attractive that has ever been launched. The Maltese bronze age and the Cretan stone age have been equally neglected, and archaeology will profit by intensive study of both.

SYLVIA BENTON.

**The Indus Civilization.** By Ernest Mackay. London, 1935. 210 pp., 16 plates. 6s.

In its historical significance the discovery **206** in the Indus basin of an urban civilization in touch with Mesopotamia and the West surpasses in importance the more spectacular excavations in Iraq and Egypt. Yet it has received relatively little attention in the country upon which India happens to be politically dependent. The Publishers, Messrs. Lovat Dickson, are to be congratulated on selecting the Indus culture for the second of their promising new series of 'short, well produced and

'readable books on important archæological sites.' Still more fortunately they have secured as author Dr. Mackay who, after extensive field experience on the Nile and the Euphrates was in charge of the excavations at Mohenjo-daro for six years. As might be expected, he gives an authoritative and vivid account of that city and of the civilization revealed by the excavations there and at other sites. In handy form and intelligible language the reader will find here collected and accessible the vital facts embodied in Marshall's magnificent but cumbrous and costly *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, and in subsequent Reports of the Archæological Survey. Even experts, familiar with these original sources, will find new information and fresh points of view. Mackay rightly rejects the term chalcolithic in reference to the Indus culture and emphasizes unfamiliar aspects of that culture—the inscriptions on pottery bangles, the 'reserved slip ware' with its Sumerian analogues, Nilotic affinities of the Indus boats, cage-birds kept as pets. It is, however, unfortunate to call the builders of Mohenjo-daro 'a pre-Aryan race.' If experts will use the word 'race' so loosely, they will deserve to be put in concentration camps if they question the truth of 'British Israel.'

The cities of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro give the most vivid picture of secular life 4,500 years ago that is obtainable anywhere. But they are only two out of a large number of ruined sites in Sindh and Punjab. And both of them reveal only the final results of a process of cultural development, the earlier stages of which at both sites are now irrevocably submerged by the subsoil waters. Among the sites discovered by Dr. N. G. Majumdar and ably described by him in *Arch. Survey of India, Memoir 48*, Amri and others reveal earlier or different phases of the Indus culture. The excavation of these sites is a task for western archæologists that promises rich rewards both in new knowledge and in museum pieces. But it cannot be indefinitely postponed; barrages are raising the level of the subsoil water so as to threaten the deeper strata at many sites. May we hope that the interest Mackay's book is sure to arouse will result in a well equipped expedition for the exploration of further sites? V. G. C.

**Prehistoric Assyria: the Excavations at Tall Arpachiyah, 1933.** By M. E. L. Mallowan and J. Cruikshank-Rose. Oxford University Press, 1935. [Reprinted from *Iraq II i.*] Large 8vo. xvi + 178 pp., coloured frontispiece, 22 plates and 79 text-figures. Price 21s. net.

Tall Arpachiyah, a stratified mound site near Nineveh, has been excavated for the Trustees of the British Museum with grants from the Gertrude Bell and Percy Sladen funds and other sources, and has yielded some 34 feet of stratified house-ruins and debris, and also a neighbouring cemetery. The climax of the settlement's fortunes was in the 'Tall Halaf period,' exceptionally illustrated by a workshop for stone vases and of flint and obsidian tools, and by its brilliant polychrome pot-painting. Later levels belong to the 'Al 'Ubaid

'period,' while 'Uruk' types are almost absent. In the 'earlier Tall Halaf stratum' there are links with the culture of Samarra. Consequently this series is of exceptional interest as extending the southern cultures of Mesopotamia almost to its northern margin, and offering independent evidence of the relative rapidity of accumulation, by which to check the estimates of previous excavators elsewhere.

A peculiar architectural form at Arpachiyah is the circular *tholos*, with stone foundations and cupola of beaten clay, with roofed entrance-passage. These were not wholly subterranean, and recall those depicted in Assyrian reliefs, and still constructed near Aleppo. Naturally one asks whether there is any link with the 'beehive' tombs of Mycenæ and Crete, but the excavators wisely reserve judgment.

The greater part of this volume is concerned with the painted pottery, and the long series of changes in its forms and designs. Here the very full illustrations are welcome, qualified as they are by indications, which types are rare and which are common; a point often neglected by field workers. In the Al 'Ubaid period there are some very instructive figurines of 'mother goddesses' and animals, and a good series of small stone objects including double-axes. Clay jar-labels supplement the engraved seal-stones. Only three copper objects were found, and one of lead. In the Tall Halaf period, pot painting becomes rich and glorious in polychrome, with designs which pass into each other, from textile originals; but there are also very varied designs based on an ox-head symbol, and a few naturalistic animals and birds; others seem purely geometric. Altogether this is an achievement of exceptional interest and importance, admirably displayed. J. L. MYRES.

## OCEANIA.

**Field Notes on the Culture of Vaitupu, Ellice Islands. Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. 9.** 208 By Donald Gilbert Kennedy. New Plymouth, N.Z.: Thomas Avery & Sons, Ltd., 1931. xviii + 326 pp. Price 15s.

Anthropology owes much to the enthusiasm of men who in what is rather unfairly called their 'spare' time in the intervals of their work as missionary, administrator, medical man or commercial representative, devote their energies to the study of the native people among whom they happen to live. Remembering the normal apathy of the Government official in the Western Pacific in regard to native custom and language, one is especially grateful to Mr. Kennedy for a meritorious effort to describe some of the most important features of the arts and crafts of the Vaitupu people.

The book is rightly called 'Field Notes,' since it is really a series of papers put together with little attempt at a planned sequence: the reader is advised, for example, to turn to the 'final notes' first, as they give the author's revised conclusions on a number of important topics, and make clear much else that is obscure in the social structure. The book opens with a vivid description of arrival at Vaitupu, and the author's eye for significant detail serves him well throughout his account. The best sections are those dealing with the catching of bonito, *Ruvettus*, kingfish and flying fish, where careful, minute analysis of the construction and use of

apparatus is blended with lively accounts of the processes employed. Of particular interest is the detailed explanation of the theory of the action of the sharply-angled *palu* (*Ruvettus*) hook, a highly-specialized implement the construction of which is an example of the skill of the native fisherman in adapting his technique to the habits of his prey. The section dealing with canoe technology is excellent, and illustrated with a magnificent series of sketches. Having so much one can only wish that more than two pages had been given to the "place" of the canoe in the communal life. The collections of songs and folk-lore, and especially the account of the medical treatment practised by these people are very useful for comparative study.

The religious life of the folk of Vaitupu has been so changed by European influence that it is clearly very difficult to determine the old forms of ritual and belief. The same is to some extent true of the social structure. Yet here one feels that the author has largely failed to grasp the reality of the problem before him. Faced by the decay of the former social organization, he was able neither to reconstruct the old system nor to describe what was before his eyes. It is clear from his incidental remarks that these people are governed by a strong system of social relationships, changed though it may be from that of olden time, but this has been neglected, and no adequate picture of the corporate life of the community to-day emerges from his sporadic observations. It is unfortunate also that, as one of the few authors bold enough to describe some aspects of Polynesian social structure in general terms, he cannot be supported in his attempt; but since it is to the generalizations alone and not to the argument on which they are based that reference is usually made by later inquirers, some criticism is necessary. Mr. Kennedy has obviously derived his generalizations on Vaitupu social organization, not from the empirically ascertained facts at his disposal, but from his preconceptions formed largely from the historical assumptions of the late Dr. Rivers, which in their application to Polynesia, at all events, have not stood the test of further research. The exchange of gifts between relatives of husband and wife at pregnancy and after the birth of a child is regarded by the author as a remnant of dual organization; a feast provided by the husband's family alone when the midwife leaves the house is held to be emblematic of a recent victory of patrilineal over matrilineal descent, as also a custom whereby mother and child make the round of the husband's "sisters'" houses for some time afterwards. All the evidence given for such a change of institutions is of this type only, significant social relationships of the present are interpreted in terms of history, and the real and immediate background of these customs—a background of family co-operation such as can be clearly demonstrated in other Polynesian fields—is ignored. It is to be hoped that we shall have another work from Mr. Kennedy's pen in which he will use his talent for careful observation of detail and vivid description to present us with an account of the organized working of the Vaitupu social life as it is to-day, European influence not excluded.

RAYMOND FIRTH.

**The Journal of Thomas Williams, Missionary in Fiji, 1840-1853.** By G. C. Henderson, M.A. *Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1931. 2 vols. 606 pp. 209 Price 42s.*

Prof. Henderson is nothing if not thorough. He begins with the political and religious movements that usher in his hero, and takes us over the scene of his birth, having prepared himself by visiting it in person. Prof. Henderson is not content with books, he must see for

himself the stage on which his actor performs, and he illustrates his book with views and maps of Horncastle, Lakemba, and other places where the action is laid.

This is as it should be, but one cannot help doubting whether all this conscientious industry is not rather wasted. Thomas Williams was not a great man. No one would ever have heard of him, had he not gone to Fiji, which, being a province in the kingdom of the blind, takes the half-blind for kings. His diary does not reflect an interesting personality, but rather a trivial one. Who wants to know that on May 1st he took up yams, that on Nov. 30th he received letters, contents not mentioned; that on January 2nd he "was called in" to adjust the King's intestines; or when he bottled his Poulac, made hencoops, or was employed in sugar-boiling?

True Pepys fills his diary with trivial matters; but then Pepys is Pepys: Thos. Williams is not. His trivialities are not living. They lack that detail which would make them living and human. Even more important matters, such as church affairs, are merely alluded to. It might be of considerable use to a missionary to know what was the serious charge brought against Samuel of Vulunga. A full account of the matter might give the intending missionary some hints of the difficulties he will have to deal with; a mere reference is no use to anybody. Native customs are scarcely better treated. The anthropologist is told that the priests "commenced" their *reka* (leg. *rika*) in succession," but he has to turn to the Editor's note to know what it means, and that note is a very inadequate one. Sometimes there is no note, as when Williams alludes to *cava*. As a rule, however, the Journal is most carefully annotated, and Prof. Henderson has all the qualities of an annotator; but as they are based entirely upon Williams' material we learn nothing which we do not get in 'Fiji and the Fijians' without having to wade through references to Mrs. Williams' health, the arrival of the mail, the undescribed misdeeds of unknown teachers. Unfortunately, the Editor seems to go on the assumption that Williams was infallible and takes no notice of any later work. He repeats Williams' confusion between *mata ni vanua* and *matakaki*, and his complete misunderstanding of the *mata ni vanua*'s functions. This confusion gives us a measure of Williams' objectivity. Translating *mata ni vanua* as the eye of the land (it is really the 'face of the land,' i.e., the sacred tumulus), he sees a false analogy with Darius' 'eyes and ears'; confuses him with the ambassador. Yet he had seen the *mata ni vanua* at work, for he correctly describes them in his 'Fiji and the Fijians' I, 27, quoted in footnote to p. 134 as performed by *Ona mata*. But apparently he had not discovered that *Ona mata* was just the *mata ni vanua* of Somosomo.

So complete is Prof. Henderson's faith in Williams that he has not availed himself of his visits to Fiji to check his hero by reference to the natives. He shares apparently a common idea that since the Fijians have become Christianized there is nothing to be learned. As a matter of fact there is probably a great deal more to be learnt from them even now, than Williams and all the other writers put together ever tell us. There certainly was twenty years ago. For instance, Williams tells us (p. 163) "the Taivei is a large canoe in progress at this time on the island of Kambara." Such a piece of information is quite useless. Over sixty years later the Lakembans could tell you that their forefathers went to build a canoe in Totoya. The Totoyans objected and said, 'Where do they want to build this canoe?' So a lady who was born in Lakemba at this time was called Taivei, 'Where-build?' When she died a canoe was built, as is the custom after the death

of a nobleman or noble lady, and named after her. Like all such 'nets of the dead' it passed into the hands of kinsfolk. This handing over is described by Williams, but the whole thing is unintelligible without the details. These details are full of information. We learn:—

(1) That people were named after contemporary events.

(2) That canoes were built in honour of the dead and named after them. This can only be explained in the light of customs elsewhere of providing a boat to convey the soul of the dead, and thus Fiji becomes linked up with Charon and the Styx. Confirmation is provided by Williams, p. 200, one of the few cases where we get concrete details. Further, it helps to complete the identity of installation and death ceremonies, for a canoe was similarly built in Kandewu when a chief was installed.

(3) It illustrates the rule that those who conduct a ritual hand over the stuff to a group with whom they intermarry. This brings Fiji into line with Australia, where totemic performers divest themselves of their ornaments and hand them over to the other moiety. This again throws some light on the development of vassalage in Fiji. We do not learn all this from the Diary.

The same applies to most of Williams' information; there is not enough to lead anywhere; very often it leads completely astray.

The editor would have done the study of mankind a greater service by collecting the masses of excellent

materials published in *Na Mata* by intelligent Fijians on their own customs in their own language. These texts translated and annotated would be invaluable, and they would be beyond doubt.

Yet I suppose if that were done it would not shake the faith in Williams. The attitude would be very much the same as it is in some circles towards language. If the Fijians do not speak as in Hazlewood's grammar, it is the Fijians that are wrong, not Hazlewood.

A. M. HOCART.

**Linguistische Untersuchung der Mythologie und Initiation in New Guinea.** By Heinz Reschke. Münster, 1935 (*Anthropos-Bibliothek III*, 5. 8 vo. xvi+167 pp. Price 8.60 RM).

This dissertation is a general account of the religion of Melanesian peoples, with special examination of the two main notions—the 'High God' and the 'Culture Hero,' round which often notions and rituals take their place in the life of the community. Conspicuous among these are the ceremonies of initiation for adolescents, most completely exhibited among tribes of North-eastern New Guinea. In some of these there is also initiation for girls, but the boys' mysteries were concealed from women, children and strangers. The author makes suggestive use of the nomenclature of these customs, and gives the text of songs and formulae, with translations and grammatical notes.

J. L. M.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

**The Age of the Cromer Forest Bed.** (cf. MAN, 193, 128.)

**211** SIR,—Dr. Hopwood's claim (MAN, 1935, 128) that the Cromer Forest Bed is of Middle Pleistocene age, interests me, as it no doubt does other people. He bases this claim on palaeontological evidence, and states that what he terms the most common elephants in the Forest Bed, *E. trogontherii*, and *E. an'iquus*, appear to be comparable with those of Mosbach in Germany, which are of Middle Pleistocene age. Hence the Forest Bed is of this antiquity. Dr. Hopwood, however, also states that *E. meridionalis* may be regarded as indicative of the Lower Pleistocene, but the remains of this animal occur freely in the Forest Bed, and this fact would not seem to support Dr. Hopwood's claim.

Moreover, he speaks of the Cromer Forest Bed as if it were one and indivisible—which it certainly is not. Clement Reid ('Pliocene Deposits of Britain,' p. 149) divided it into three divisions. His lowermost, the Lower Freshwater Bed, I have never seen, but there can be no doubt as to the existence of division two—the Estuarine Bed—or of division three, the Upper Freshwater Bed. To these I am inclined to add a fourth, viz., a Basement Bed, indistinguishable from the Stone Bed beneath the Weybourne Crag, and, in all probability, contemporaneous with it. From my observations I conclude that these various divisions of the Forest Bed are realities, and I would like to know exactly what mammals occur in each division. I do not know, and I doubt whether anyone else is in a different position.

So far as the archaeological evidence goes, it can be claimed that division four—the Basement Bed—contains flint implements among which are represented numerous examples of coarsely-flaked hand-axes of rostrate form. There is no question as to this, or that it is difficult to imagine any series of artifacts more unlike those which, hitherto, have been regarded as of Middle Pleistocene age. From division two, the Estuarine Bed, a few primitive

implements have been recovered, but these are not such as can be referred, with confidence, to any particular prehistoric phase. The same is unfortunately true of the specimens found in division four—the Upper Freshwater Bed. So that, in regard to these uppermost divisions of the Forest Bed, it is not possible to say, on archaeological grounds, whether they are of Middle Pleistocene age or not. But from the geological side certain questions may be asked. For example, is it a probable supposition that there major glaciations have taken place since the Middle Pleistocene? And, is it true that the Hoxne beds, containing 'floors' of Late Acheulean and Early Mousterian date—which rest upon the Kimmeridgian Boulder Clay—are of the same age, or possibly even slightly earlier than the Cromer Forest Bed? If Dr. Hopwood's claim is well-founded the answer to these questions must be 'Yes.' But, at the risk of being thought dogmatic, I would like it to be known that my answer to them is an emphatic 'No.'

I notice that my friend Mr. Miles Burkitt is somewhat involved in this discussion, and, as it seems to me, is inclined to give to Dr. Hopwood's thesis what may be termed a tentative blessing. But Mr. Burkitt's statement that if we follow this (Dr. Hopwood's) classification to its "logical conclusion," then "all the East Anglian 'Crag' beds, together with their archaeological contents, would have to be classed as Early Pleistocene," appears to me hardly worthy of a logical status. There would, in fact, seem to be no doubt that a considerable lapse of time took place between the deposition of the Red Crag, and the Forest Bed, and the former—for aught we know to the contrary—may date back to some epoch long pre-dating the latter. Moreover, if a deposit is to be called Lower Pleistocene because it contains remains of horses, elephants and oxen, then the implementiferous Bone Bed beneath the Red Crag cannot be relegated to this epoch, for so far as I am aware no traces of oxen have ever been found in it.

Incidentally, it may be said that the remains of true elephants claimed as belonging to the Bone Bed, are of an extreme rarity, and in my researches in this deposit, I have not seen a trace of them.

Again, as I have endeavoured to show, the pre-Red Crag implements can be divided into five groups of different ages, and that these are clearly older—some much older—than the bed in which they are now found. So that even if it were true that the Suffolk Bone Bed were of Lower Pleistocene age, then the artifacts in this deposit are, in all probability, more ancient than this epoch.

I note that Mr. Burkitt states that all this is 'only a question of nomenclature,' but, in view of the above remarks as to the implements in the Suffolk Bone Bed, it is impossible to regard them as 'only Early Quaternary.' If, however, we are now to start extending this period indefinitely into the past in order to placate the susceptibilities of certain people who harbour strange ideas as to man's antiquity, why not do the thing in proper style and decide, in future, to claim as 'Recent' all deposits in which flint implements of any kind are found.

J. REID MOIR.

**Is the Savage a Scientist?** (Cf. MAN, 1935, 184, 193, 194).

SIR,—Major Gordon's view seems to be that nobody is entitled to draw any conclusions from the facts of the present day, unless he is at the same time prepared to lay down the law about what happened 10,000 years ago. This he himself has no hesitation in doing. I instanced the motor-car to show that invention does not result from necessity. He says that it does, and instances a theory of his own, for which there is no evidence, but which he states as a fact.

The Australian blacks have not invented the bow, and therefore I conclude that people like the Australian blacks did not invent the bow. Major Gordon says that they did, because there are crude pictures of men with bows in Spanish caves. I gather that if any savage were to draw a crude picture of a man with a gun, that would prove to Major Gordon's satisfaction that the savage's tribe invented the gun.

I do not know, and I refuse to guess, who invented the returning boomerang. I do not believe that the Australian blacks invented it, since I know of no reason for believing that they have invented anything. The fact that it was known in Egypt 5,000 years ago (Budge, 'From Fetish to God,' p. 72) suggests that it may have been diffused, from there or elsewhere, as the gun is now being diffused.

I may believe that the Marshall Islanders invented their maps when I am shown any possible means by which any illiterate could invent a map.

If forest fires could be caused by the rubbing together of dry branches in the wind, I do not think that there would be any forests left in the world. I have cut up numbers of dead or partly dead trees, but except where they have been struck by lightning, have never seen any sign of fire. Here again Major Gordon relies on theory rather than on fact. I find it difficult to believe, however, that he would attack me so confidently unless he had some facts up his sleeve, and await with interest mingled with apprehension his forthcoming article on 'Recent Advances in the Technique of the Bow and Arrow Among the Bhils.'

RAGLAN.

P.S.—In reply to Dr. Róheim I would only express regret that his knowledge of English is insufficient to enable him to distinguish between 'condition' and 'position.'

**Yam or Lime?** Cf. MAN, 1935, 111.

SIR,—In MAN, 1935, 111, J. F. Pieris publishes an account of the use of the yam as an aphrodisiac, in his 'The Myth of the "Naga Meru" Ale.' A Ceylonese prince thrust his sword into the ground. His sister, wishing to chew betel-nut, asked him for some lime to chew with it. He pulled up the sword, and handed her the powdered lime on the tip of it. The lime had no sooner been transferred to her mouth than her passions were aroused. Subsequent investigation, according to the myth, revealed that the sword had pierced a yam while in the ground, and it was the yam which aroused the princess. In Ceylon, says this account, henceforth the yam has been considered a very "powerful love magic."

In MAN, 1935, 35, Dr. G. A. Stephens has a commentary on a letter which appeared in the preceding issue (MAN, 1935, 19), in which Miss M. E. Durham pointed out that the Princess Der Ling's book, 'Imperial Incense,' contained accounts of the taking of powdered pearls by ladies of the Chinese court under the Dowager Empress. Dr. Stephens' commentary was to the effect that this practice, indulged in by the Chinese court ladies to keep themselves youthful, probably had much basis in fact, for "Pearls are composed of a lime salt . . . readily assimilated by the blood, of which lime forms so important a part. . . . Calcined lime from sea-shells, wrapped round with the betel nut . . . is consumed by people throughout many parts of India to make up for a lack of lime in their ordinary food. It is this lack of lime in the food of Orientals that is responsible to a big extent for the lowered vitality . . . so common in the East." The inference is that lime produces vitality which aids in keeping youthful ageing Oriental ladies; that it might serve as a sort of aphrodisiac.

If this be true, then Dr. Stephens' statement indirectly refutes the Ceylonese myth. It must have been the lime, not the yam, which engendered passion in the princess. On the other hand, there has long been a belief that yams do possess aphrodisiac qualities. In the 16th and 17th centuries, the sweet potato (yam), originating in Middle America, was considered an aphrodisiac. Recall Shakespeare's phrase, 'potato finger.'

MAURICE RIES.

**The Spirit of Language in Civilization.** (Cf. MAN, 1935, 152, 180.)

SIR,—My criticism of Vossler's statement in MAN, 152, quoted by Mr. I. C. Peate in MAN, 180, was directed only against its universality. I did not deny that it was true in the great majority of cases. But exceptions do occur in many parts of the world when two different languages are spoken (1) in the household itself, or (2) in the household and the outer world. My own case was such an exception. The original languages of my father and mother were (for short) A and B, respectively. In my earliest childhood I always used B with my parents (when alone with them) and A with domestic servants or others who did not know B. Though I cannot be sure, I think it is pretty certain that B was my first language, if either of the two was learnt before the other, which I doubt. From about the age of seven or eight I attended a day school where the language was A, but continued to speak B with my parents. At the age of 11 I was taken to the Continent and stayed in a foreign family to learn C, whereby A and B got rather rusty, but were soon picked up again after my return home. But from that time, for some years, I spoke C with my father when alone with him.

The question as to which language predominates in the long run I did not touch. In my case it was A. but I kept up the others (especially B) by frequent use, and I still use all three when opportunity offers. Whatever detrimental effect this education may (or may not) have had on my spiritual development, I have no doubt that it has been a great help towards the acquisition of the several other languages which in due course I was called upon to learn.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

#### Cleopatra's Temple at Armant : a Request.

**215** SIR,—There existed at Armant, till the year 1861, an extremely interesting temple built by Cleopatra the Great in honour of the birth of her son Cæsarion. This was completely demolished between the years 1861 and 1863 and the materials were taken and used in the construction of a sugar factory; but, prior to that date, it had been visited and described by many travellers, and fortunately a number of drawings, plans and photographs of it were taken by them. We are engaged upon a reconstruction of this temple for publication and we should be very grateful for any help which your readers may be able to give us to make this as complete as possible. Any information about unpublished descriptions, plans, drawings or photographs of this temple, or about out-of-the-way published descriptions of it would be of the greatest value.

A large number of travellers toured this part of Egypt in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when the diary habit was strong, the standard of draughtsmanship high, and towards the end of the temple's existence, photography was just becoming popular. We believe that there may well remain important records in private collections which would be of great assistance in making some restitution for the vandalism of the last century.

ROBERT MOND.

OLIVER H. MYERS.

#### Tell el Amarna; the Name. (cf. MAN, 1935, 135).

**216** SIR,—In MAN, 1935, 135, the reviewer of the book *Tell el Amarna*, by John Pendlebury, refers again to the problem of the name of the famous historical place.

I quote a passage from an Arabic scholar of outstanding authority: Edward William Lane. In his *Life*, edited by Stanley Lane Poole, London, 1877, p. 83, there is a short diary of a voyage upon the Nile in 1835. At the date of July 9th and 10th we read: "Arrived at Menfeloot at 9 a.m. Proceeded at noon. Menfeloot has lately been much ruined by the inundations, towards the river.—10th. Passed Tell el 'Amâr'neh at sunset."

It will be probably a surprise for many Egyptologists to realize that the place was already called by the natives Tell el Amarnah in 1835. JEAN CAPART. Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire, Bruxelles.

#### Chalcolithic Platinum.

**217** SIR,—When visiting recently the Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation) in New York I was shown sundry artifacts made of native platinum by the indigenes of Ecuador. Those platinum objects were found by the Indians of to-day while seeking gold in the mud of the La Tolita, a river in the State of Manabí. M. H. Saville was of the opinion

that they are prehistoric, that is, they belong to a period before the Spanish invasion, early in the sixteenth century. By courtesy of Dr. George G. Heye, the Director of the museum, I am enabled to show photographs of them. All the buttons in the lower left group (2) are platinum; the others are accompanied by gold, as was indicated on the photograph by Mr. W. C. Orchard, of the Museum. Another interesting object is a nose ring (5) weighing 362 grains, of platinum from the headwaters of the San Juan river in Colombia. From the La Tolita also have come many gold objects with a platinum overlay, as well as fish-hooks of gold, without a barb, but some of them have an eylet for attaching



FIGS. 1-5. PRE-COLUMBIAN OBJECTS OF PLATINUM.

the fishing line. The platinum overlay, like the prehistoric Indian gold plating on copper and bronze, was done probably by means of an amalgam. Copper also was attached to copper by aid of amalgam. The amalgam, containing either gold or platinum, would be spread, like a thin paste, over the metal, and then exposed to heat, which would expel the mercury. Then a little burnishing would complete the process. Such prehistoric skill in fabricating jewellery characterized the art of Chiriqui and other districts on the isthmus of Panama.

It is noteworthy that Acosta, writing in 1589, speaks of this use of mercury in plating. "It [quicksilver] hath yet another propertie, that although it dooth separate gold from copper, and all other metalles, yet they that will guild copper, brass or silver, use quicksilver as the means of this union; for with the helpe thereof they guild mettalls." I quote from Grimestons translation of 1604. Acosta is referring to the mercury obtained in Peru, and of the use of it in winning the silver of Potosi. T. A. RICKARD.



# MAN

## MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

JANUARY, 1935.

Vol. 1-60

### CONTENTS

#### PLATE A. CHERT IMPLEMENTS FROM JAMAICA.

#### ORIGINAL ARTICLES:

CHERT IMPLEMENTS FROM THE SOUTH-EAST COAST OF JAMAICA. T. GANN. <i>Illustrated. With Plate A</i> ...	1
PLACE AMONG THE PRIMATES. PROFESSOR W. E. LE GROS CLARK, D.Sc., F.R.C.S. ...	1
DO VANS OF BALBEZI AND THEIR PREHISTORIC AFFINITIES. A. HERTZ. <i>Illustrated</i> ...	1
THE GORRORY, AS OBSERVED IN FINLAND. FRANK BROWNLEE ...	5
IN THE TORQUAY MUSEUM. A. G. MADAN. <i>Illustrated</i> ...	5
SMITH FROM OBUASI, ASHANTI. CAPT. R. P. WILD. <i>Illustrated</i> ...	4

#### ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS.

Among the East. DR. E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD ...	7
People of Nepal. MAJOR C. J. MORRIS ...	8
On Legal Institutions of Nepal. DR. LEONHARD ADAM ...	9
... areas of Malakula, the Deccan, Scandinavia, and Scotland: with special reference to the geometric drawings collected by Deccan. JOHN LAYARD ...	19

#### REVIEWS:

Problems of South Africa. EDGAR H. ...	11	La Race, Les Races. GEORGE MONTANDON. (H. J. Fleure) ...	12
(E. W. Smith) ...	11	La Vie d'un Peuple: L'Ukraine. R. TISSERAND. (P. K.) ...	14
the Gothic Nations. Vol. II. ...	12	Archaeological Tours from Mexico City. R. H. K. MARKET. (Richard O. B. Long) ...	14
H. Dudley Burton) ...	12		

#### CORRESPONDENCE:

.....	16	Peaks as Life Given. M. E. DURHAM	19
W. J. HUME	17	Geometrical Art. F. L. S. BELL	8
M. Whitfield	18		

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Number 1-60

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## ANNOUNCEMENTS OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE, FEBRUARY, 1935.

### ORDINARY MEETINGS.

Tuesday, February 5. 8.30 p.m. The Reindeer Tungus of Manchuria. (*Film and Slides.*) Miss G. LINDGREN.  
(*Executive*), 5 p.m.

Tuesday, February 19. 8.30 p.m. The Age of the Sub-Crag Flint Implements. (*Lantern.*) J. REID MOIR, Esq.  
(*Council*), 5 p.m.

Friday, March 9. 5 p.m. Human Biology Meeting. *Chairman*: SIR GRAFTON ELLIOT SMITH. *Convener*:  
Miss M. L. TILDESLEY. Racial Analysis, with a demonstration of technique and reference to recent work  
in the Isle of Man. PROFESSOR H. J. FLEURE, D.Sc.

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MARCH, 1935.

No. 394

## CONTENTS

### PLATE C. ESKIMO BLOOD GROUPS PHYSIOGNOMY.

#### ORIGINAL ARTICLES:

- PHYSIOGNOMY. PROFESSOR R. RUGGLES GATES, F.R.S. *Illustrated. With Plate C.* ...  
PHYSIOLOGY AND STATISTICS: A ONE-SIDED REVIEW OF 'SEX AND CULTURE.' DR. G. H. ...  
JAMES "CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY AND STATISTICS." DR. J. D. UNWIN ...  
A. T. CULWICK. *Illustrated* ...  
DISKING ACT (1834) OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA. SIR CHARLES PEERS, F.R.S.

#### ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS.

- LIST OF PRESENTERS. DR. EILEEN J. MACFARLANE ...  
OF MANUSCRIPTS. G. LINDGREN ...  
OF THE INSTITUTE. J. REID MOIR ...

#### OBITUARY:

- E. G. DUYVIS ...

#### REVIEWS:

- A Morphological Study of the Primates. W. E. LE ...  
Law and Order in Polynesia. H. IAN HOODIN. (J. Williams) ...  
De Mensch—Geslacht en Huidskleur. DR. E. H. VAN LELY. (C. O. Blagden) ...

#### CORRESPONDENCE:

- African Pedigree. LORD RAPLAN ...



## ANNOUNCEMENTS OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE, MARCH, 1935.

### ORDINARY MEETINGS.

**Tuesday, March 5. 8.30 p.m.** Indian Constitutional Reform and the Problem of the Primitive Tribes.  
A. AIVAPPAN, Esq. (*Executive*, 5 p.m.)

**Friday, March 8. 5 p.m.** Human Biology Meeting. *Chairman*: SIR GRAPTON ELLIOT SMITH. *Convener*: MISS M. L. TILDSELY. Racial Analysis, with a demonstration of technique and reference to recent work in the Isle of Man. Professor H. J. FLEURE, D.Sc.

**Tuesday, March 12. 8.30 p.m.** 1. The Worora Tribe of N.W. Australia; technology and ceremonies. (*Film*) Produced by H. R. BALFOUR, Esq. Lent by the British Museum. Commentary by H. J. BRAUNHOLZ, Esq. M.A.  
2. Stonehenge and its Problems. (*Film*) Produced by A. M. DAVIDSON, Esq. Commentary by GERALD HEARD, Esq. (*Council*, 4.30 p.m.)

**Tuesday, April 9. 4.30 p.m.** African Meeting. *Convener*: MR. J. H. DEIBERG. Discussion on the Handbook of African Tribes, projected by the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, with a view to collaboration.

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Vol. XXXV.

APRIL, 1935.

No. 51-59

### CONTENTS

#### PLATE D. ESKIMO HARPOON REST: INBOARD AND OUTBOARD SIDES.

#### ORIGINAL ARTICLES:

AN ESKIMO HARPOON REST FROM ALASKA. ADRIAN DIGBY. <i>Illustrated. With Plate D.</i> ... ..	51
MODERN SLAB BURIALS IN NORTHERN CASTILE. BARBARA AITKEN. <i>Illustrated</i> ... ..	52
A RANBWELA PURIFICATION RITE. VERNON BRELSFORD ... ..	53
THE INSTALLATION (KUSANWA) OF THE CHIEF OF UHA. W. B. TRIPE ... ..	54
THE OIVINGDEAN PREHISTORIC SKULL EXHIBITING DOUBLE PRIMITIVE SURGICAL HOLING. BY T. WILSON PARRY, M.A., M.D., F.S.A. <i>Illustrated</i> ... ..	55
THE OIVINGDEAN SKULL. M. L. TILDESLEY ... ..	56

#### ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS.

The Problem of the Primitive Tribes in India. A. AIYAPPAN ... ..	57
The Woorra Tribe of North-West Australia. H. J. BRAUNHOLZE ... ..	58
Stonehenge and its Problems. G. HEARD ... ..	59
An Anthropometric Survey of Great Britain ... ..	60

#### REVIEWS:

The Arts of West Africa. Edited by SHE MICHAEL ... ..	61
SADENE. (A. E. V. Drew) ... ..	62
The Uganda Journal. (E. E. Evans-Pritchard) ... ..	63
L'Afrique Fantôme. MICHEL LEIRIS. (E. E. Evans-Pritchard) ... ..	63

#### CORRESPONDENCE:

Female Fertility Figures. V. C. C. COLLUM ... ..	64
Female Fertility Figures. M. M. BANKS ... ..	65
Folk Park and Museum, New Barnet. M. E. DURHAM ... ..	66
Stone-Age Man in St. Helena. A. J. H. GOODWIN ... ..	67
Social Origins. LORD RAGLAN ... ..	68
Beehive Graves and Modern Domes. J. L. MYRES ... ..	69

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## ANNOUNCEMENTS OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE, APRIL, 1935.

### ORDINARY MEETINGS.

**Tuesday, April 9. 4.30 p.m. African Meeting.** *Convener:* Mr. J. H. DARRER. Discussion on the Handbook of African Tribes, projected by the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, with a view to collaboration.

**Tuesday, April 9. 8.30 p.m. Rivers Memorial Lecture.** A Revision of Recent Research upon some Stone-age problems in North Africa. *Miss G. CATON-THOMSON. Executive, 5 p.m.*

**Tuesday, April 30. 8.30 p.m. Notes on Red Feather Money from the Santa Cruz group, New Hebrides. (Lantern).** H. G. BRASLEY, Esq. *Council, 4.30 p.m.*

**Friday, May 3. 5 p.m. Human Biology Meeting.** *Convener:* Miss M. L. TILDERLEY. Craniometry and Human Intelligence illustrated by lantern slides; also demonstration of technique. *PROFESSOR R. J. A. BERRY.*

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Vol. XXIV.

MAY, 1935.

Nos. 70-87

### CONTENTS

#### PLATE E. INDIAN FIGURINES OF SQUATTING GODDESSES FROM MATHURA AND KANARAK.

#### ORIGINAL ARTICLES:

EMAPHY: CLASSICAL AND INDIAN. K. DE B. CODRINGTON, M.A. <i>Illustrated. With Plate E.</i> ... ..	70
SEX AMONG THE BAGANDA. DR. L. P. MAIR ... ..	71
THE GODS AND KINGS OF NIUNI. R. W. MACKLIN ... ..	72
ETHNOLOGY OF TANGANYIKA TERRITORY. G. W. HATCHELL. <i>With Sketch Map</i> ... ..	73
IRON SWORDS AND KNIVES FROM THE SUDAN. A. E. ROBINSON. <i>Illustrated</i> ... ..	74

#### ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS.

Notes of Recent Research upon some Stone-Age Problems in North Africa. G. CATON-THOMPSON... ..	75
Use of Red Feather Money from Santa Cruz, New Hebrides. H. G. BRASLEY ... ..	76
Work of African Tribes ... ..	77

#### REVIEWS:

Prehistorische und frühgeschichtliche Chronologie. NILS JENSEN. (F. G. Childs) ... ..	78	Three Essays on Sex and Marriage. EDWARD WESTERMARCK. (Lord Raglan)... ..	81
Recherches sur les Schématisques de la Péninsule Ibérique. L'Abbé HENRI BERNIL. (M. C. Burkitt) ... ..	79	Men against Women: A Study of Sexual Relations. T. BESTERMAN. (Lord Raglan) ... ..	82
Man of Time. VIII: The Horse and the Sword. PEAKS AND H. J. FLEURE. (B. E. B.) ... ..	80	Sexual Regulations and Human Behaviour. J. D. UNWIN. (R. U. Sayce) ... ..	83

#### CORRESPONDENCE:

Old Hand. G. D. HORNLOWER ... ..	84	The Abbey Folk Park and Museum. REV. J. S. M. WARD ... ..	86
Paintings. MAJOR D. H. GORDON ... ..	85	How-stand or Trident? REV. T. CULLEN YOUNG ... ..	87

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### ORDINARY MEETINGS

**Tuesday, May 14. 8.30 p.m. Ethnogenics—The Science of Anthropology. Capt. G. Pitt-Rivers, B.Sc.**  
**Exercises, 5 p.m.**

Tuesday, May 28. 8.30 p.m. The Rengma Nagas—A Split Tribe. (Lantern.) J. P. MILLS, Esq., M.A., I.C.S.  
Council, 4.30 p.m.

**SPECIAL MEETING.**

**Tuesday, May 21. 8.30 p.m. Some Modern Wonder Workers in Northern Rhodesia with exhibition of Magic horns. Dr. AUDREY L. RICHARDS.**

## HUMAN BIOLOGY MEETINGS.

**Friday, May 3. 5 p.m. Chairman:** Professor W. LE GROS CLARK. **Convenor:** Miss M. L. TILDESLEY. Craniometry and Human Intelligence illustrated by lantern slides and demonstration of technique. Dr. R. J. A. BERRY.

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CONTENTS



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VOLUME

1915

CONTENTS



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LXXV.

AUGUST, 1925

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### CONTENTS

#### PLATE H. HAIDA MEMORIAL FIGURE: BRITISH COLUMBIA.

#### ORIGINAL ARTICLES:

A MEMORIAL FIGURE OF A HAIDA SHAMAN. H. G. BEASLEY. <i>With Plate H</i> ... ..	122
BLOOD-BROTHERHOOD. A. M. HOCART ... ..	127
NOTES ON PLEISTOCENE STRATIGRAPHY. A. TINDELL HOPWOOD, D.Sc. ... ..	128
THE PROBLEM OF EARLY INDIAN TERRACOTTAS. MAJOR D. H. GORDON, D.S.O. ... ..	129
RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION AMONG THE SUKUMA. O. G. WILLIAMS ... ..	130
TWO SCARABS FOUND IN WILTSHIRE. GEORGE ENGLEHEART AND PROFESSOR P. E. NEWBERRY. <i>Illustrated</i> ...	131

#### ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS.

Do we know of Africa? REV. E. W. SMITH ... ..	13
Lubbock's Eightieth Birthday ... ..	14

#### REVIEWS:

Desert Egypt. G. CATON THOMPSON and E. W. LAMBERT. (H. G. Beasley) ... ..	134
Die Weltgeschichte. FRITZ KERN. (J. L. M.) ... ..	135
Die Weltgeschichte. FRITZ KERN. (J. L. M.) ... ..	136
Die Weltgeschichte. FRITZ KERN. (J. L. M.) ... ..	137
Die Weltgeschichte. FRITZ KERN. (J. L. M.) ... ..	138
A HANNA-ENGLISH DICTIONARY AND ENGLISH-HANNA VOCABULARY. REV. G. P. RABENY. (O. K. Meek) ... ..	139
Egypt and Negro Africa. C. G. SELIGMAN, M.D., F.R.S. (O. K. Meek) ... ..	140
A Brief Review of the History and Social Organizations of the Peoples of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast. CAPT. ST. J. EVER-SMITH. (H. E. Palmer) ... ..	141

#### CORRESPONDENCE:

Current Events: H. E. Palmer ... ..	142
-------------------------------------	-----

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### CONTENTS

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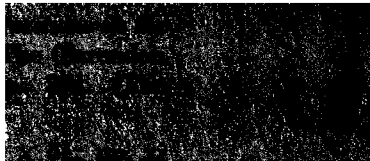




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